SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): We know that this is not Andhra Pradesh Assembly. This is the state of affairs in Conyress-ruled States.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I gave my opinion. Will you please allow the Calling-Attention to go on?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: This is a serious issue. An Assembly legislator has been kidnapped and it is three days already since then. No steps are taken to get him released. ,

DR. NARREDDY THULASI REDDY: If it happens to an MLA today, tomorrow it will happen to anybody.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: And they have the audacity to say that this is not Andhra Assembly. Andhra is a part of this country. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. Please, sit down. (*Interruptions*). Are you speaking to the Chair or to the members? Do you want my ruling or not? Please sit down. (*Interruption*). Mr. Swamy, I am not allowing you. Please take your seat. The Home Minister is here. He will take note of it and come back to us.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Current situation in Jammu and Kashmir in the context of kidnapping and subsequent release of Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Madam, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the current situation in Jammu and Kashmir in the context of kidnapping and subsequent release of Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Madam Deputy Chairperson, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been in turmoil for the last two years. Immediately after the last Assembly elections, the situation started deteriorating which was aggravated by growing fundamentalism, serious economic situation and increasing unemployment among the youth. The growing public resentment found expression in a series of violent incidents during 1988 and 1989. Various agitations and hartals also took place in 1988 like the agitation against increase in electricity tariff (June 9-17), observance of black day (August 15), vijilent incidents following General Zia's death (August 17-21) and observance of 27th october as the protest day against what they call occupation of Kashmir by the Indian Army on this day in 1947...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN (Maharashtra): 'What they call' is not here in the statement.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: I have corrected it...

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: But it is not part of the statement which has been circulated.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The procedure is that this is a written statement but if there is any other information that he gets in between he can put it there.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: May I submit the honourable Minister should read the statement as it has been circulated. If he has corrected it, he should have circulated the corrected statement or informed the House.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): No, no.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR (Uttar Pradesh): I would like to

[Shri Makhan Lal Fotedar]

know from the Government whether the Government considers that the Indian Army in Kashmir...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no, let him first make his statement.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: The Home Minister is making a statement. I would like to know whether the Government of India headed by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh considers the Indian Army an occupation army because the statement reads like that. In case the statement has been amended, then the Minister should say so clearly.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister while he is making a statement can make certain additions and corrections and whatever he is speaking here is the real statement. You can ask him for clarifications after he finishes his statement.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Then the corrected version should be circulated. This is a very important statement.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will make it.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: This is a very important statement issued by no less a person than the Home Minister of the Government of India. In the written statement he says "as the protest day against occupation of Kashmir by the Indian Army on this day in 1947"...

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: What I have said is correct... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, is he sticking to this statement or is he contradicting it? That is what I want to know... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH (Gujarat): Madam it is their version and it is not Government of India's version ... (*Interruptions*)...It is their version and it is not the Government of India's version. But what is the Government's version?... (*Interruptions*) ...What is your version?... (*Inttrruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat... (*Interruptions*)... All of you, please take your seats... (*Interruptions*)...Don't get agitated. What he is saying is naturally the the Government's stand. You don't have to question him. What he speaks in the House is the Government's stand . . . (*Interruptions*)... It is not know why you should object to what he is saying... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: Is it the Government's version?... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Naturally. What he speaks as the Home Minister is part of the Government's stand... (*Interruptions*) .'.Mr. Valiullah, you cannot question him... (*Interruptions*)...Just a minute... *terruptions*)...Please wait... (*Interruptions*)...Just a minute... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: Madam, Mr. Fotedar has raised a very valid point. If those words were in inverted commas, then it is their version and not version of the Government of India. But here it is not within inverted commas. What is the version of the Government of India? (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute. If everybody speaks at the same time, I can hear neither the Home Minister nor the other side. What the Home Minister has said is the correct thing and everybody should hear him and there should pe no misunderstanding . . . (*Interruptions*)...Let him speak, please . . . (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: ..."and observance of 27th October as the protest day against what they call occupation of Kashmir by the Indian Aamy on this day in 1947."... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Against 'what they call?' Isn't it?

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: Yes. 'what they call'... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is what they call and, therefore, you should ask the Minister what 'they' means or who they are... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: During the current year... (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He can say whatever is not in the statement and that is the real statement... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: During the current year also, a number of such incidents took place, including observance of 26th January as 'Black Day', death anniversary of Maqbool Butt on Februarl 11, Quit Kashmir movement on May 11-14, observance of 15th August as 'Black Day', hartals from September 29—October 3, and November 22-24. The kidnapping of Dr. Rubiya Sayeed on December 8, 1989 and her forcible confinement until her release on December 13, 1989, in exchange of five extremists indicated the critical nature of the prevailing situation.

The incident of Dr. Rubiya's kidnapping and the demands put forth by the militants were discussed in an emergency meeting of the State Cabinet held at Jammu on the 8th December evening and a decision was taken to hold negotiations through mediators to secure her release. This task on negotiation was entrusted by the State Government to a team headed by the State's Chief Secretary, The Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir who had been abroad for treatment also returned to Srinagar on 10th December. He took stock of the situation and closely monitored the pace of negotiations for securing release of Dr. Rubiya in exchange of militants.

The Valley witnessed serious disturbances following the release of five militants which led administration to impose curfew on the 14th December in Sopore and Shopian. Curfew had to be extended to Srinagar, Baramulla and Anantnag on 15th December. Police also had to open fire resulting in the killing of seven persons. From 19th December onwards, the situation has remained, by and large, under control. The tension however, continues.

The Central Government is alive to the situation prevailing in the State and keeping a close watch. A Cabinet Sub-Committee has been constituted to go into all aspects of the J&K problem. Discussions have also been held with the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. The State Government has also initiated measures on administrative and political plans for tackling the situation. The Government of India has been extending all assistance as and when being requested by the State Government. The Government is totally committed to maintaining territorial integrity and unity of the country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the House that we have got to discuss this Calling Attention as well as the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. So we will not have the Lunch Hour: Please confine yourself to the questions so that we can finish it by 2.30 P.M.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, I rise this afternoon to participate in this Calling Attention Discussion firstly as a father, then as a citizen and the last and the least as a Member of this House. I will come to the Statement a little later and say what I have to say. But let me make it clear that the Statement is as disappointing as the Government itself is. The situation in the beautiful and peaceful valley of Kashmir which is often referred to as a heaven on this earth has been deteriorating for quite some time. Apart from what has been stated in this Statement, not a day passes when there are no incidents of arson, looting, bomb explosion and clashes taking heavy toll of life and property. Many Members including myself and particularly those Members who hail from Kashmir such as

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my esteemed senior colleagues, Mr. Tirath Ram Amla, Mr. Ghulam Rasool Matto and Mr. Dharam Pal who is not here, have been speaking about their personal knowledge and experience in Kashmir and all the time have been pressing on this House, on the Government and through this House on the entire nation to understand the gravity and seriousness of the situation. I only wish that the hon. Home Minister who has been our erstwhile colleague in this House, had also lent his voice when these things were raised in this House.

Madam, a catalogue of things has been mentioned as to what the previous Government did and did not do. But the Calling Attention refers particularly to the incident of kidnapping. Let me give the sequence of events. The present Cabinet was sworn in on the 6th of December and the portfolios were allocated on the 7th. To my pleasure, hon. Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed was made the Home Minister. He hails from Kashmir and he also belongs to the minority community. I was very happy and had expected that the temperature in the valley would cool down. If the temperature was 200 degrees, it will come down to 100 degrees. Therefore, I was utterly shocked and almost dazed to find that on the 8th of December, 1989, Dr. Rubiya Sayeed, a young beautiful, intelligent and talented daughter of my esteemed friend and the Home Minister had been kidnapped by the members of the main secessionist group styled as Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. I have a long association with Kashmir. I have many many personal friends. Kashmiris by temperament are as peaceful as the valley itself is. There is a certain sense of honour and conduct in them. Therefore, I would never imagine that some of them would stoop so low as to kidnap a young and helpless lady, that too, a child of Kashmir whom I have known along with her two sisters and a brother. To my mind, this was sheer madness. And I thought that the kidnappers would realise soon what grave and great blunder they had committed in kidnapping a girl, and that she would be returned without any condition. In fact, the report of kidnapping came in the newspapers on the 9th, and the very next day, on the 10th, the newspapers carried the cheerful news that the girl may be released soon. I felt that my instinct was right. But, alas, it was not to be. We have known that much support to the terrorists— and we have repeated it several times on the floor of this House—to the militants and the secessions either in Jammu and Kashmir or in Punjab comes from Pakistan. They get the training in Pakistan. The crossing-over of the border is very easy and all the weapons and money that is needed for their activities is also provided by Pakistan. I was, therefore, getting nervous when days passed and Miss Rubiya was not being released. And I was asking myself as to why have they chosen this time when a Muslim leader from the Valley has become the Home Mnister. And I now know the answer that the secessionists had chosen to hit because they knew that this Government is a a very weak Government. They knew that they could get anything out of this Government under the threat of causing harm to the young girl. No one....

SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): It is the State Government...

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Mr. Verma, you are a senior Member. We do not refer to a State Government. It is not permissible under our Constitution and the devolution of powers and the autonomy of the States. The States have their Legislatures. So, please do not betray your ignorance at this stage. This is far too serious

a matter. No one is more unhappy and disappointed than I for the manner in which this weak Government has conducted itself in a weak-need fashion in adopting the problem. I do not think that this Government understood the weakness of the kidnappers and the strong world opinion that it could have roused against this kidnapping. It is reported, and I would like the hon. Home Minister to explain this point because this is a very crucial point, that right from the beginning, the kidnappers were extremely nervous for having committed two crimes—one inhuman, and the second un-Islamic of kidnapping a girl. I have no doubt that if proper pressure would have been brought upon to bear on the kidnappers and certain amount of strength and firmness shown, the girl would have been returned wthout any pre-conditions. Even if the girl were not to be returned without any pre-conditions—and this is another question which the hon. Minister will keep in mind for his answers—was it not possible to insist on an exchange on the basis of one to one, that against the girl we release one terrorist, and not to surrender to the total demand for the release of 5 secessionists held in custody. Well, that is why I said that this statement is as disappointing as the Government itself. It does not even mention as to what negotiations were carried on, as what point of time did you agree to fight, at what point of time did you not agree to fight, at what point of time did you say, no, we will not be doing anything unless you release the girl, there will be no conditions accepted at all. Nothing is mentioned and this is the Government which claims in its Presidential Address that right to information will be included as a basic fundamental right in the Constitution. What a gap between what they profess and what they say? I will come to the statement a little more in greater detail when I deal with it. Let me proceed further with this aspect of the matter. The Jammu and Kashmir Government as we all know, the State Government

AN HON. MEMBER:...is an alliance Government, a coalition Government.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I tell you, I hold no brief for the State Government. I have in this House criticised it for its lapses. I am going to do it even now. But that is a very partisan and a very poor manner of looking at a very very serious problem and I do not know how it is going to eat up the country. If that is going to be your satisfaction that you hit by our past and you hit by what our ally the National Conference is doing. I do not think it is going to solve the problem. But what the statement does is that it has cleverly concealad the failure of the Central Government and I will make it clear and I hope that the Home Minister will in his reply deal with the various points that I have raised. As I was telling, in winter the High Court and the seat of the Government shifts to Jammu from Srinagar. As I have said earlier and I repeat, I hold no brief for the State Government and I have made my stand very clear of its failures in the debates in this House. The Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah was abroad for medical treatment. If the newspaper reports are correct, the Centre gave no opportunity to the State Government to carry on negotiations by themselves. A high-powered team and some prominent Ministers had already appeared on the scene and I am told, it is reported to me, and I would like the hon. Home Minister to confirm or deny it that they reversed the State Government negotiations for a one to one exchange and substituted it by five to one exchange. If one had to surrrender completely I wonder why it took five days for the girl to be released. What justification — and here I say this as a father — and the Home Minister is a personal and a dear friend of mine, what justification this Government has to force the young girl to the torture of captivity for 122 hours if they were

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ready to give to the kidnappers everything they asked for on a silver platter? Even past midnight between the 12th and the 13th, the Chief Secretary of the State Government, Mr. Musa Raza, called a press conference in the early hours of the morning and told the press that the negotiations had failed because the secessionists were not willing for a simultaneous exchange. Now, I have never known hostages being released after the secessionists have been surrendered, but thereafter the Chief Secretary, the State Government, everybody goes out of the picture and the negotiations were continued and concluded by the emissaries of the Centre. The feeling I got on that day was that the Government would stand tough and not yeild but my feelings were misplaced and this weak Government proved to be weaker. It agreed that they will be released and they did release all the five terrorists and secessionists three hours before the girl was released. I shuddar at the thought. I shudder at the bankruptcy and impotence of this Government which has taken charge. I said at that time. The Home Minister is on record in a Press Conference. All the articles which have been written clearly show that at that time, it was the Centre which vetoed the State Government's proposal for simultaneous exchange.

What is even more shocking is that the Centre conducted the negotiations through a sitting judge who was earlier a Judge of the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir and now transferred... (*Time-bell rings*) I would like to know, for what reasons, to the Allahabad High Court. I just fail to understand how a Judge of the High Court could be so close to the terrorists. Did he oblige them in the past so that they could listen to him now and how could he be a guarantor for the kidnappers and insist on the release of the secessionists three hours earlier?

Madam, I still remember two things in relation to Jammu and Kashmir. One was, in the precincts of the High Court, we were not allowed to put up a statue of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of this nation. I also still remember, the lawyers from the Valley came and complained to me that in a country which we claim to be secular and of which we are proud, *Namaz* was allowed to be said in the precincts of the High Court and one judge, particularly, was mentioned as being responsible for whipping up all this passion. Therefore, it has distressed me completely that a judge, who is supposed, ordinarily, to be aloof, impartial, independent, detached and objective, should have been brought into this whole affair as a mediator. This Government talks of preserving the institutions. Could they preserve the institution of the judiciary if they actively mobilise judges for such jobs?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Shameful act.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: What impression the citizens of this country are going to carry about this? I know that the judge is a friend of the Home Minister. But it is all the more reason why he should have kept the judge out. God save us, if we have a judiciary mixed up with terrorists, smugglers and bootleggers. The episode of kidnapping . . .

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): That is the plight. It has been done by the Congress Government.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: If that is your answer, then, say so. Do not make any new profession I take it that the ruling party and its allies are committed to further deteriorating the institutions.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: We will check it.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: What is the use of making a remark like that? It is obnoxious. You know that I have ne-

ver contributed and subscribed to that kind of thing. I have always stood here for the upholding of the system, for the running of the system and for the upholding of the institutions. I have not wavered even once. I did not expect such a comment from my hon. friend, Shri Sukomal Sen.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Belated.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Not belated. It is always there.

Now, I come to the most important part of my statement today. The episode of kidnapping itself leaves many questions unanswered and I have catalogued the questions so that through this House, the nation should know what are the things which the Government has to explain. (*Time bell*). Was it usual for Miss Rubaiya to travel by bus, or, would she ordinarily go in her own car? Was she blindfolded, her lips sealed and put into the boot of the car, or, was she taken to the place of hostage openly? Thirdly, did she know any of her kidnappers; in the sense, after she was released, did she recognise anyone of them or did she know anyone of them?

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI (Rajasthan): The Home Minister knows.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Did the Centre know—if so, when — where the kidnappers had kept Miss Rubaiya in a mosque, some say, she was kept in a mosque, some say, she was kept in a house. The nation is entitled to know where she was kept, with whom and how she was kept. Now this is very intriguing and important. How is it that there was no report of kidnapping either by the driver or by any other person to the police? What is more significant is — the Law Minister is here and he will understand the significance of this—that there is no registration of FIR till today. Did the Centre not know that the secessionists were extremely nervous and on the defensive because their hostage was a girl? They had flown the border security group, the commandos, the Black Cats. What efforts were made to locate the girl? Were these commandos and Black Cats put into action? I would like to know whether any such thing was thought of, whether it was given up because it was impossible or it was given up because you felt, well, anyway had decided to surrender right from the beginning, so let them be present there as a status symbol or as a matter of prestige of the Government and you will do nothing in the matter. How proud we would have been if these Black Cats and commondos had freed the girl? What steps did the Government take to arouse world opinion, particularly to seek the help of Pakistan in the matter? We have read the statement of President Bush. Just because one American lady was threatened only, he said that he would kill hundreds of Panamians. I would not agree with that perception but that is what he said. All that the Prime Minister had to do was to pick up the phone and ask President Bush, "I want my girl back", and she would have been back here.

I have no doubt about it.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Madhya Pradesh): Is it President Bush or Prime Minister Benazir?

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Both. I do not know why my esteemed friend Vajpayee is so touchy when I mention USA.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is touchy about the lady Prime Minister.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Diplomatic channels have to be used.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: I do not know anything about diplomacy; he alone knows.

AN HON. MEMBER: You have remained the Minister of External Affairs.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Is it not a fact that the Centre moved in and countermanded the negotiations of the State Government on the basis of 1:1 exchange? What were the compelling reasons which made the Government surrender to the demand of the release of all the five terrorists, that too not simultaneously but earlier than the release of the girl? Is it not a fact that the entire negotiations were organised, controlled and concluded by the Central Government and at least two of these Ministers were overseeing the whole operation? What protest did this Government lodge with Pakistan against this kidnapping, particularly when one Pakistani national had been released in exchange? That is the saddest part and the supreme of the JKLF Ammanullah had been giving statement after statement from Rawalpindi, giving threat to the life of this innocent girl. I want to know all these things and the whole statement is silent about these facts. This is our right of information which this Government is. ..(*Interruptions*). I know that the situation in Kashmir is very bad. I know that some of the Members who will follow me will raise a demand for dismantling Farooq Abdullah Government. But let me tell you that the need of the hour is to strengthen the nationalist forces in that region. I have long experience of Jammu and Kashmir Shri Mufti also represents that nationalist feeling in that region. What is necessary is to keep a democratic set-up and the Centre has ample powers and I am quite sure that that it will use those powers and Dr. Farooq Abdullah will also realise that if he is to bring those militants into the mainstream of life of Jammu and Kashmir and the country, their frustration, because of economic deprivation, because of lack of opportunity in advanced education and jobs and so on and so forth, partly because of nepotism, partly because of favouritism and even partly because of corruption, is to be eliminated so that a young Kashmiri can walk proudly as a citizen of India saying, "yes, that equality of opportunity which is enshrined in our Constitution is available to me in Kashmir."

Madam, the hon. Minister has said that the whole nation was behind him. Every one is asking me whether this Government would do the same if the daughter of a common man were kidnapped by the terrorists and therefore as a citizen of this country and as a Member of this House, let me assure every citizen of this country through this House that the entire nation would be behind even an ordinary man if his daughter or any relation was kidnapped and that we would not allow this Government to adopt double standards.

Madam, what could have been a matter of shame and disgrace for the kidnappers, this imbecile Government allowed it to be converted into a matter of honour and pride. No wonder there was a large scale rejoicing after the release of the secessionists and unfurling of the Pakistani Flag in which a large part of the Kashmiri population, including women and students, participated. This is how the whole problem has been tackled.

I read in the newspapers yesterday that the threat to the PM is even more from this Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front than from the Khalistanis. In the ultimate analysis, the strength of this Government in appointing a Muslim leader from the Valley as the Home Minister became its weakness and the utter weakness and helplessness of kidnappers in kidnapping a Muslim girl became their strength. This Government frittered away the one time opportunity which came its way to prove its strength and to put Pakistan . in

its place and curb effectively all her encouragement to the activities of terrorism and secessionism, both in Punjab and Kashmir.

I am afraid, one more dimension is added to terrorism — the dimension of kidnapping and holding innocent people as hostages to meet their illegal demands and ransoms. Kidnapping has come to occupy a major place in the strategy of terrorists for an easy achievement of their goals. That is why we find, after this incident, there has been a kidnapping in Andhra Pradesh.... I condemn it and I only hope that the Government does *not buckle under as your Govern*ment did.

Madam, I have framed several questions. In a Calling Attention, I know it is not permissible to ask so many questions. I have made them a part of my statement. If you believe in the right of information, you will reply. If you don't reply, all the same the people of this country will get their answers and will also judge the Government... But this matter is so serious that I request this Government to come out with a White Paper giving all the efforts it has made in the Valley itself, at the international level, how they tried to use the Commandos, the Black Cats and other things which I have mentioned.

Let me end, Madam, by saying that by this single act of Government, nationalism has receded in the Valley by miles and terrorism and secessionism have advanced by years. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. I remind the Members that we have to finish by 2.30 p.m.

SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA (Delhi): We have one and a half hours.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, यह पहला अवसर नहीं है जब हम जम्मू-कश्मीर की समस्या पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। चुनाव के कारण नई लोक सभा आई है, लेकिन राज्य सभा वही है। फर्क इतना हुआ है कि जो लोग इधर बैठा करते थे, अब उधर बैठ रहे हैं और हमें दोनों के बीच में बिठा दिया गया है।

महोदया, आपको याद होगा जम्मू-कश्मीर की स्थिति के बारे में जब पहले यहां चर्चा हुई थी तो उस समय के सत्ता पक्ष के एक सदस्य श्री आमला ने क्या कहा था? वह एक चेतावनी थी, जिस पर उस समय की सरकार ने कान नहीं दिया, ध्यान नहीं दिया। जम्मू-कश्मीर की स्थिति को लगातार बिगड़ने दिया गया। आज तो ऐसा लगता है कि जैसे जम्मू-कश्मीर में कोई सरकार ही नहीं है। जो राष्ट्र-विरोधी है, जो आतंकवादी है, उनकी रिट चल रही है, वे जब चाहते हैं बंद करा देते हैं, वे जब चाहते हैं लोगों को डराकर-धमकाकर अपनी बात मनवा लेते हैं। और यह सिलसिला पिछले दो साल से चल रहा है।

15 अगस्त को जब हम आजादी का त्यौहार मनाते हैं, लाल किले पर तिरंगा फहराते हैं, कश्मीर की घाटी मे कुछ ऐसे तत्व हैं जो तिरंगा जलाते हैं। गणतंत्र दिवस के अवसर पर भी वे इसी तरह की राष्ट्र-विरोधी हरकत करते हैं। गृह मंत्री महोदय ने अपने बयान में पिछले दो साल का कच्चा चिट्ठा रखा है। अच्छा होता अगर मेरे मित्र श्री भण्डारे उसके बारे में भी कुछ कहते।

आखिर आज अगर भारत का नन्दन वन जल रहा है तो क्या इसलिए कि आम चुनाव में भारत की जनता ने सरकार बदलने का फैसला किया और एक नई सरकार आ गई? डा० रूबिया के अपहरण से एक नया आयाम जुड़ा है। आतंकवादियों की हिम्मत यहां तक बढ़ गई कि वे भारत के गृह मंत्री की पुत्री को उठाकर ले गए। सवाल यह है कि यह नौबत कैसे आने दी गई? अगर

[श्री मदन बिहारी राजदेयी]

इस परिस्थिति के लिए कोई जिम्मेदारी लेना नहीं चाहेगा तो आगे का रास्ता कैसे निकलेगा। आखिर वहां एक चुनी हुई सरकार है, वह मिली-जुली सरकार है, लेकिन उस सरकार की रिट नहीं चलती। वह सरकार परिस्थिति पर काबू नहीं पा सकी, लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि इस बीच केन्द्र सरकार क्या कर रही थी?

जम्मू-कश्मीर भारत का भाग है, अटूट भाग है, मगर वहां स्थिति इतनी बिगड़ने दी गई कि आज दिल में कभी-कभी आशंका पैदा होती है कि क्या सचमुच में जम्मू-कश्मीर को हम भारत का भाग रख सकेंगे? जम्मू-कश्मीर को भारत का भाग रखने के लिए लोगों ने बलिदान दिए हैं। जम्मू-कश्मीर की जनता ने स्वेच्छा से भारत में मिलने का फैसला लिया था। यह फैसला उनके ऊपर थोपा नहीं गया था। तब भी कश्मीर की घाटी में कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोग थे जो भारत विरोधी थे। उनकी संख्या इतनी कैसे बढ़ गई? उनका हौसला इतना कैसे बढ़ गया? वह आज देश की एकता और अखंडता को चुनौती दे रहे हैं।

1.00 P.M.

महोदया, मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या यह सच है कि हमारी पिछली सरकार के गृह मंत्री पिछले दो साल में एक बार भी जम्मू-काश्मीर नहीं गए? जम्मू-काश्मीर को वहां की सरकार के भरोसे छोड़ दिया गया और वहां की आतंकवादियों के भरोसे छोड़ दिया गया। क्या 15 अगस्त और 26 जनवरी को तिरंगा झंडा जलाना, राष्ट्रीय ध्वज का अपमान करना, जब चाहे तब बंद करा देना, भारतीय सेना को जबरदस्ती अधिकार कर लेने वाली सेना कहना, उसके लिए एक विरोध सप्ताह मनाना क्या यह राष्ट्र-विरोधी कार्य नहीं हैं? इसके लिए जम्मू-काश्मीर में कितने लोगों को सजा दी गई? मैं चाहूंगा कि गृह मंत्री महोदय इस बात पर प्रकाश डालें।

क्या यह सच नहीं है कि पुरानी सरकार ने जानबूझकर जम्मू-काश्मीर की हालत को बिगड़ने दिया और इसलिए बिगड़ने दिया कि जब चुनाव आएगा तो काश्मीर का कार्ड खोला जा सकता है। यह खतरनाक खेल था जिसका दुष्परिणाम गृह मंत्री को भी भुगतना पड़ा है। यह ठीक है कि जिस तरह से डॉ० रूबिया की रिहाई हुई उनको और तरह से भी रिहा कराने का प्रयत्न हो सकता था, मगर मुझे ताज्जुब है कि श्री भंडारे उसी बात को लगातार दोहराते रहे हैं, दोहराते रहे हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है। मैं गृह मंत्री महोदय से दो तीन सवाल पूछना चाहता हूं।

यह ठीक है कि जैसा श्री भंडारे ने भी कहा वह मांग होगी कि जम्मू-काश्मीर की सरकार अगर परिस्थिति का सामना नहीं कर सकती तो उस सरकार को हटाकर कोई और व्यवस्था की जाए। मैं चाहूंगा कि हाल में ही जब वहां के मुख्य मंत्री फारूख अब्दुल्ला दिल्ली आए थे और वे गृह मंत्री महोदय से मिले थे, तो गृह मंत्री महोदय से उनकी क्या बात-चीत हुई, यह बताएं। क्या वहां की सरकार अपनी ढिलाई, अपनी निष्क्रियता, अपना निकम्मापन छोड़ने के लिए तैयार है? क्या कांग्रेस पार्टी इस संबंध में उनके ऊपर दबाव डालने के लए तैयार है? अगर डॉ० फारूख अब्दुल्ला की सरकार परिस्थिति पर काबू पा सके तो मुझे खुशी होगी, लेकिन अगर काबू न पा सके तो कल जम्मू-काश्मीर की हालत और बिगड़ जाएगी।

दूसरी बात यह है कि काश्मीर को भारत का अटूट अंग रखने के लिए पाकिस्तान के साथ..... (व्यवधान)

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: On a point of information. Idon't want to place him in the dark. If your Home Minister issues a statement like this that the Indian Army is an occupation army, the damage in Jammu and Kashmir has been done. I must tell you that this statement in this form should not have been issued. The damage in Kashmir has

been lone. The Home Minister wanted this, and under compulsion he has said it, I am telling you. This is how they behaved on Kashmir.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया; फोतेदार जी हमारे पुराने सहयोगी हैं और फोतेदार मुफ्ती साहब के भी पुराने सहयोगी हैं। मुफ्ती साहब एक राष्ट्रवादी नेता हैं। क्या वे भारतीय सेना को आकुपेशन फोर्स कहेंगे ? मैं पूछ रहा हूं कि आप उसको बार बार क्यों रगड़ रहे हैं ? आप कौन सा राजनीतिक उद्देश्य पूरा करना चाहते हैं ?... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार: स्टेटमेंट ठीक होना चाहिए।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आपने कह दिया। उन्होंने अपना स्टेटमेंट ठीक कर लिया, बात खत्म हो जानी चाहिए। लेकिन आप फिर काश्मीर के सवाल पर पोलिटिक्स कर रहे हैं और इस सदन में कर रहे हैं। मुझे अफसोस है..... (**व्यवधान**)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish. We have very short time.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: महोदया, काश्मीर भारत का अटूट अंग है, काश्मीर को हमने संविधान में विशेष दर्जा दिया हुआ है; धारा 370 अस्थाई थी; मगर वह स्थाई रूप ले रही है। काश्मीर का अलग झंडा है, काश्मीर का अलग संविधान है। जम्मू-काश्मीर की सरकार को केन्द्र से रुपया पाने में, यहां से आर्थिक सहायता पाने में कभी कठिताई नहीं होती। मगर इसके बावजूद भी अगर काश्मीर घाटी में कुछ लोग हैं और जिनकी शक्ति बढ़ रही है। वह कहते हैं कि हमें भारत से बाहर जाना है। ये मुट्ठी भर लोग अगर बाहर जाना चाहते हैं तो बाहर जा सकते हैं। मगर अपने साथ, भारत की जिसमें जम्मू-काश्मीर की जमीन शामिल है, एक इंच जमीन नहीं ले जा सकते। भारत ऐसे तत्वों के साथ कभी समझौता नहीं करेगा। मैं चाहता हूं कि आज के मौके पर डा० रुबिया का मामला बार-बार न उठाया जाये। मैं तो पिता नहीं हूं, मैंने शादी नहीं की है, मगर आप में से बहुत पिता हैं। (**व्यवधान**)

मुख्य सवाल है यह है कि आज जम्मू-कश्मीर के भारत के साथ विलय को चुनौती दी जा रही है। डा० रुबिया का अपहरण इसी की एक कड़ी है। उस चुनौती का सामना करने के लिए सारा देश तैयार है या नहीं इस सदन में से आज यह आवाज जानी चाहिए। मगर दुर्भाग्य है कि आज यह आवाज नहीं जा रही है। हम फिर पार्टी का खेल खेलने लगे हैं। यह खेल हमने बरसों तक खेला है, सैकड़ों सालों तक खेला है।

श्री भुवनेश चतुर्वेदी : आप भी खेल रहे हैं। (**व्यवधान**)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इस खेल का कहीं अंत होना चाहिए।

मैं दूसरा सवाल पूछना चाहता हूं कि जम्मू-कश्मीर में जो आतंकवादी हैं वे पाकिस्तान के साथ जुड़े हुए हैं। भंडारे साहब ने भी कहा। अयातुल्ला रावलपिंडी में बैठ कर फतवे दे रहे थे, निर्देश दे रहे थे। जम्मू-कश्मीर में तीन युद्ध हो चुके हैं। वहां युद्धविराम है, वहां सीमा रेखा है, नियन्त्रण की रेखा है। वहां फौज लगी हुई है आसपास। फिर ये आतंकवादी हथियार कैसे ला रहे हैं ? आतंकवादी ट्रेनिंग लेकर कैसे आ रहे हैं ? क्या पिछले दो साल में यह मामला पाकिस्तान की सरकार के साथ उठाया गया ? क्या पाकिस्तान से दो टूक बात की गयी ? क्या वर्तमान सरकार दो टूक बात करने का इरादा रखे हुए है ?

पाकिस्तान में लोकतंत्र आ गया है इसकी हम को खुशी है। हम पाकिस्तान से मैत्री चाहते हैं। मुझे पसन्द नहीं है कि भारत की सरकार पाकिस्तान के किसी अंदरुनी मामले में दखल दे। लेकिन अगर पाकिस्तान की नयी सरकार यह सोचती है कि क्योंकि भारत में सत्ता परिवर्तन हुआ है और इसलिए वह नयी सरकार

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

की तथाकथित कमजोरी का लाभ उठा कर जम्मू-कश्मीर को भारत से बाहर ले जायेंगे तो उनको इस मुगालते में नहीं रहना चाहिए ।

कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे (महाराष्ट्र) : बहुत अच्छा कहा आपने ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : लेकिन यह बात कि जम्मू-कश्मीर की हमारे लिए क्या अहमियत है, क्या कीमत है यह उनको समझाने की जरूरत है । साथ ही हमें अपनी सीमा का भी इंतजाम करना चाहिए । सीमा सील करनी चाहिए ।

माननीय सदस्य : करवाइये न ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इंटेलीजेंस को मजबूत करने की जरूरत है। सीमा के पार से आसानी से लोग न आ सकें, उनको रोकने का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए । पाकिस्तान से मैत्री रखना एक बात है लेकिन अगर वह हमारे देश को तोड़ने की कोशिश करेंगे तो उसके बारे में पाकिस्तान से साफ-साफ बात होनी चाहिए । मैं जानता हूं कि गृह मंत्री शायद इस प्रश्न का सीधा उत्तर न दे सकें लेकिन मैं उनसे निवेदन करूंगा कि प्रधान मंत्री के साथ मिल कर, विदेश मंत्री के साथ मिल कर, कुछ तय करें । मुझे शिकायतें पुरानी सरकार से भी हैं । मैं देख रहा था टेलीविजन पर एम०जे०अकबर के साथ इन्टरव्यू पाकिस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री बेनजीर भुट्टो का । वह लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं, इसलिए मैं उनका नाम बार-बार लूं इसकी आवश्यकता नहीं समझता । वह पत्रकार के नाते इन्टरव्यू ले रहे थे । पत्रकार ने पूछा श्रीमती बेनजीर भुट्टो से कि जब भारत के नेता आए थे इस्लामाबाद तो क्या उन्होंने पाकिस्तान का पंजाब और कश्मीर में हस्तक्षेप का मामला उठाया था? मैं देख रहा था टेलीविजन पर कि श्रीमती बेनजीर भुट्टो ने कहा यह मामला नहीं उठाया गया । मैं नयी सरकार से कहना चाहूंगा कि यह गलती आप मत करिये । पाकिस्तान के साथ मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध कायम रखते हुए यह बात स्पष्ट करिये कि न हम पाकिस्तान के घरेलू मामले में दखल देंगे और न हम पाकिस्तान को अपने मामले में दखल देने देंगे ।

कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे : हमने उठाया था पाकिस्तान के साथ कश्मीर का मामला। हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने उठाया था पाकिस्तान के साथ । यह जो आप सदन के सामने कह रहे हैं गलत कह रहे हैं । यह आपको याद दिलाना चाहती हूं ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मुझे याद है । मैं एक निश्चित मुद्दे का उल्लेख कर रहा हूं ।

कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे : निश्चित मुद्दे का जवाब देने की कोशिश कर रही हूं ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आप जवाब नहीं दे सकती । आपको कुछ मालूम नहीं है । बैठिये । (**व्यवधान**)

विपक्ष के नेता (श्री पी० शिवशंकर) : वाजपेयी जी मैं समझ रहा हूं कि आप जो इशारा कर रहे हैं । अकबर साहब की जो बातचीत हुई है मिसेज बेनजीर भुट्टो के साथ उसका आप जिक्र कर रहे हैं । उससे हट कर बात कर रहे हैं पंजाब और कश्मीर के मामलों में । इसी इशु को उनके साथ रेंज किया गया गवर्नमेंट लैवल पर ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, आपने नोट किया, विरोधी दल के नेता ने मैंने जो मामला उठाया था उसका खंडन नहीं किया। उन्होंने कहा... (**व्यवधान**)।

श्री कपिल वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आप श्रीमती बेनेजीर भुट्टो जो कहती हैं उस पर तो विश्वास करते हैं, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की गवर्नमेंट जो कहती है, क्या वह गलत है?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, जम्मू-काश्मीर हो, चाहे पंजाब हो, यहां स्थिति बिगड़ने में अगर सीमा पार से प्रोत्साहन मिलता है तो उस मामले को

दृढ़ता से उठाना होगा और हस्तक्षेप बंद करना होगा।

श्री विश्व बन्धु गुप्ता : क्या यह सरकार दृढ़ता से इस बात को उठा सकेगी, यह भी तो प्रश्न है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, सरकार बदल गई, लोगों के वोट से बदली है। सरकार को आपको मौका देना होगा और आवश्यकता पड़ने पर ... **(व्यवधान)**।

श्री मिर्जा ईशाक बेग (गुजरात) मौका यहां रह कर दिया है .... **(व्यवधान)**।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अगर कोई संकट पैदा होता है तो आपको एक जिम्मेदार विरोधी दल के नाते एक जुट होकर खड़ा होना पड़ेगा.... **(व्यवधान)** मुझे खुशी है कि... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार : वाजपेयी जी, मैं दोहराना चाहता हूं और याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि इन्होंने कहा है कि सरकार को क्रिटिकल सपोर्ट देंगे, हमने कहा है कंस्ट्रक्टिव कोआपरेशन। यह फर्क है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मुश्किल यह है कि हम जो कहते हैं वह करते हैं और ये कहते कुछ हैं और करते कुछ हैं... **(व्यवधान)**।

मैं फिर निवेदन कर रहा हूं कि डा० रूबिया का अपहरण और उनकी रिहाई को लेकर प्रतिपक्ष को कुछ शिकायत हो सकती है। आपने सवाल पूछे हुए हैं। गृह मंत्री महोदय उनका उत्तर देंगे। मेरा निवेदन है कि उस अपहरण काण्ड को लेकर और उस पर भारत सरकार के रवैये को लेकर आप सदन के बाहर और पड़ौस मे ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करने मे सहायक न हों कि जम्मू-काश्मीर के सवाल पर सदन बंटा हुआ है देश बंटा हुआ है।

श्री पी० शिव शंकर : आप ये बातें क्यों सोच रहे हैं? आपका अनुमान ही गलत है। आपकी प्रिजम्प्चुअस एप्रोच है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, अगर मेरा अनुमान गलत है तो मुझे बड़ी खुशी है।

श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार : आपका अनुमान हमेशा गलत रहा है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : फोतेदार जी कह रहे हैं कि मेरा अनुमान हमेशा गलत रहा है। मेरा अनुमान था कि कांग्रेस हार जाएगी, वह हार गई... **(व्यवधान)**। महोदया, इस टोकाटोकी में मैं कैसे बोल सकता हूं। यह तब हालत है जब मैं मंत्री नहीं हूं। शायद मंत्री होता तो मुंह खोलने ही नहीं देते।

उपसभापति : उनको बोलने दीजिये, डिस्टर्ब मत कीजिये।

श्री जगेश देसाई : बोलने दीजिये।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : टोक भी रहे हैं और बोलने दीजिये यह भी कह रहे हैं।

महोदया, मैं अंत में कहना चाहता हूं कि जम्मू काश्मीर की स्थिति विस्फोटक है और जैसा गृह मंत्री महोदय ने एक बार कहा था कि वह पंजाब से भी ज्यादा खतरनाक है। पंजाब में तो सदियों से भाइचारा रहा है और उस भाईचारे के तानेबाने ने हिंसा और हत्या के बाद भी टूटने और बिखरने से इंकार कर दिया है।

काश्मीर कभी सेकुलरवाद के लिए याद किया जाता था। महात्मा गांधी को काश्मीर में अंधेरे में रोशनी की किरण दिखाई देती थी। लेकिन आज काश्मीर में रहने वाले अल्पसंख्यक आतंकित हैं, जम्मू और लद्दाख की अलग-अलग अपनी समस्यायें हैं। जम्मू और लद्दाख

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

की कीमत पर काश्मीर की घाटी को कभी-कभी जरूरत से ज्यादा मदद देने का रवैया अपनाया गया, मगर उसके बाद भी वहां शांति नहीं आई। मैं मानता हूं कि वहां बेकारी है, मगर बेकारी के कारण राष्ट्र-विरोधी तत्व बढ़ गये हैं; यह स्वीकार करने के लिए मैं तैयार नहीं हूं। बेकारी सारे देश में है और बेकारी के कारण भारत का नवजवान भारत से अलग होने के बारे में नहीं सोच सकता है। स्पष्ट है कि कहीं न कहीं पृथकता की भावना काम कर रही थी जिसको बढ़ने दिया गया। इसको पिछले दो सालों में खुली छूट दी गई है। मैं फिर पुरानी कहानी में जाना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन जम्मू और कश्मीर में चुनी हुई सरकार को हटाना, फिर गवर्नर राज लागू करना, फिर उस सरकार को मजबूर करना कांग्रेस के साथ कोयलीशन करने के लिये, ये ऐसे कदम नहीं थे जिससे कश्मीर की स्थिति में सुधार हो सकता था।

एक माननीय सदस्य: लेकिन अब पुरानी कहानी भूल जाइय .... (**व्यवधान**)....

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदया, इन्होंने फिर टोकना शुरू कर दिया।

कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे: उस समय एडवाइजर कौन था?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उस समय प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी थे।

कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे : एडवाइजर कौन था?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : एडवाइजर कौन था, इसकी मुझे कोई जानकारी नहीं है। लेकिन अगर एडवाइजर गलत सलाह देता है तो प्रधानमंत्री को क्या जरूरत है उसको मानने की? (**व्यवधान**)....

महोदया, मैं चाहूंगा कि गृह मंत्री सदन को विश्वास में लें। केवल आज नहीं, जम्मू और कश्मीर पर हम लगातार चर्चा करें, इस बात की आवश्यकता है। गृह मंत्री महोदय, विरोधीदलों को बुला सकते हैं, विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को बुला सकते हैं, हम लोगों को भी बुला सकते हैं। जम्मू और कश्मीर की स्थिति के बारे में लगातार सदस्यों का, दलों को विश्वास में लेने की जरूरत है। जम्मू-कश्मीर और पंजाब ये ऐसे मामले अब नहीं हैं, चुनाव खत्म हो गये हैं ये ऐसे मसले नहीं हैं जिनकी गोटी राजनीति की शतरंज पर हमें बहुत दूर तक ले जा सकती है। नहीं ले जा सकती है। .. (**व्यवधान**)।

श्री हेच० हनुमनतप्पा (कर्णाटक): सरकार ने हाउस में वायदा किया था कि हम 6 हफ्ते में हम सुलझा देंगे। दो हफ्ते से हम इंतजार में बैठे हैं। ... (**व्यवधान**)...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कश्मीर के बारे में?

श्री हे० हनुमप्पा : पंजाब के बारे में।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : बात हो रही है कश्मीर की और हवाला दिया जा रहा है पंजाब का।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आपने दोनों बोले थे।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैंने दोनों बोले थे। मगर प्रधानमंत्री जी ने यह भी कहा है कि वे इस संबंध में एक नेशनल कांसेंसस इवाल्व करने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इसीलिए पंजाब पर बैठक बुलाई गई थी जिसमें कांग्रेस पार्टी का रवैया बहुत निंदनीय था, बहुत निंदाजनक रवैया था। ...(**व्यवधान**)..

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): It was a window dressing by the Government.

(Interruptions)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : फोतेदार जी ने जो कहा कि उनका कंस्ट्रक्शन अपोजीशन का रवैया है, मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूं। मैं चाहता हूं कि यह वे व्यवहार में लायें। व्यवहार में इसको लाकर वे समस्याओं का हल करने में सहायक हो सकते हैं। उनको इन समस्याओं को हल करने की दिशा में बढ़ना चाहिए।

मैं चाहता हूं कि प्रधानमंत्री जी जम्मू और कश्मीर के बारे में, जिस तरह से उन्होंने पंजाब के बारे में सर्वदलीय बैठक बुलाकर चर्चा की, उसी तरह की चर्चा जम्मू और कश्मीर के बारे में भी करेंगे और सभी पक्षों को विश्वास में लेंगे। वे अपनी कठिनाइयां भी हमारे सामने रखेंगे और हम सब मिलकर राष्ट्रीय एकता और अखंडता के लिये जो चुनौती है उसका सफलतापूर्वक सामना करेंगे। यह संदेश आज की बहस से इस सदन से जाना चाहिए।

उपसभापति : श्री ईश दत्त यादव। मैं फिर विनती करूंगी माननीय सदस्यों से कि जरा संक्षेप में बोलें क्योंकि इसको 2.30 बजे खत्म करना है।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, जन-हित के अत्यन्त ही महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने के लिये आपने मुझे जो अवसर दिया उसके लिये मैं आपके प्रति हृदय से आभार प्रकट करता हूं और भारत के माननीय गृह मंत्री जी के प्रति भी हृदय से आभार प्रकट करता हूं क्योंकि जम्मू और कश्मीर के बारे में उन्होंने तथ्यात्मक विवरण इस सदन के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत किया है।

महोदया, जम्मू और कश्मीर पाकिस्तान और चीन की सीमा से लगा हुआ क्षेत्र है। यहां की स्थिति गंभीर है, अत्यंत ही नाजुक है। हम सब लोग जानते हैं, पूरा देश जानता है और माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने भी अपने वक्तव्य में कहा है कि पिछले चुनाव के बाद से जो जो जम्मू और कश्मीर में हुआ है जो वहां की वर्तमान सरकार है उसके कार्यकाल में जम्मू और कश्मीर के अन्दर ला एंड आर्डर की स्थिति दिन प्रति दिन खराब होती चली जा रही है। 15 अगस्त और 26 जनवरी जो राष्ट्रीय पर्व हैं इन राष्ट्रीय पर्वों के दिनों में काले झण्डे फहराना या पाकिस्तान समर्थक नारे लगाना यह जम्मू और कश्मीर सरकार की कमजोरी का द्योतक है। यहां पर बिजली के बढ़े हुए रेट को ले कर जो आन्दोलन हुआ जिसका उल्लेख माननीय गृह मन्त्री जी ने अपने वक्तव्य में किया है तथा जनरल जिया की हत्या के बाद जो अशान्ति पैदा हुई और जो सब से नवीन घटना है डा० रुबिया का अपहरण 8 दिसम्बर को इसी वर्ष हुआ यह सब साबित करता है कि कश्मीर के अन्दर शान्ति व्यवस्था की स्थिति निरन्तर गिरती चली जा रही है, निरन्तर भयावह होती चली जा रही है। इसके लिए जिम्मेदार कौन है ? हमारी नयी सरकार का कार्यकाल अभी लगभग 15 दिन हुए हैं जम्मू कश्मीर में नेशनल कान्फ्रेंस पार्टी की सरकार है और उधर जो हमारे भाई छटपटा रहे हैं इन लोगों की सहयोगी सरकार है इन की उस में हिस्सेदारी है इनकी सरकार थी। इन दी वर्षों के अन्दर आज कश्मीर में स्थिति भयावह हुई है उसके निराकरण के लिए कश्मीर में शान्ति व्यवस्था स्थापित करने के लिए जम्मू-कश्मीर की वर्तमान सरकार और जो अपने कुकर्मों से चली गई है केन्द्र की पिछली वाली सरकार इन्होंने वहां की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए जम्मू और कश्मीर में शान्ति व्यवस्था कायम करने के लिए कोई भी नतो ठोस कदम उठाया, न कोई कार्यक्रम बनाया और न उस पर इनका मन ही था कि जम्मू कश्मीर की समस्या को हल किया जाए। आज स्थिति हो गई है कि पंजाब से भी भयंकर जम्मू कश्मीर की स्थिति होती चली जा रही है। आज भी जब जम्मू और कश्मीर इन गम्भीर परिस्थितियों के दौर में चल रहा है वहां नेशनल कान्फ्रेंस की सरकार जिसमें कांग्रेस पार्टी की भागीदारी है यह लोग वहां की स्थिति के बारे में गम्भीरता से विचार करने के लिए कतई तैयार नहीं हैं। आज जो हमारे साथी अपने गलत कामों के कारण विपक्ष में जा

[श्री ईश दत्त यादव]

कर बैठ रहे हैं देश की गम्भीर समस्याओं के बारे में, देश की एकता और अखण्डता के बारे में सोचने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं केवल गलत सवालों को उठा कर गलत नारे लगा कर देश का ध्यान दूसरी तरफ खींचना चाहते हैं । हमारे पूर्व वक्ता जो कांग्रेस की ओर से बोले उन्होंने हमारे माननीय गृह मन्त्री जी की पुत्री के अपहरण के बारे में कहा । महोदया, माननीय गृह मन्त्री जी की पुत्री का अपहरण हुआ । हम सब लोगों और पूरे देश को तथा इस सदन को गम्भीर चिन्ता थी । माननीय गृह मन्त्री जी जो पिता थे लेकिन देश के जिम्मेदारी के पद पर रहने के कारण गृह मन्त्री जी कश्मीर में नहीं गये । काश्मीर की सरकार के ऊपर इन्होंने कोई प्रेशर नहीं डाला । कश्मीर की सरकार को इन्होंने इम्प्रेस नहीं किया कि डा० रुबिया की रिहाई के लिए यह काम करो । वहां के मुख्य मन्त्री जो इलाज के सिलसिले में विदेश गये हुए थे वहां से लौटने के बाद उन्होंने मन्त्रि-मण्डल की आपातकालीन बैठक बुलाई और मन्त्रि-मण्डल के निर्णय के अनुसार जो कुछ हुआ वह देश के सामने है । आज उसमें भारत सरकार, गृह मंत्री जी, किसी की भी कोई जिम्मेदारी नहीं है, जिस प्रकार से रिहाई हुई । आज कांग्रेस में बैठे लोग गलत तथ्यों को सामने रख कर के देश के लोगों को गुमराह करना चाहते हैं ।

...महोदया, कश्मीर भारत का अभिन्न अंग है । कश्मीर की एकता और अखंडता की रक्षा करना और पूरे देश की एकता और अखंडता की रक्षा करना सरकार का दायित्व है । सभी देशवासियों का सहयोग लेकर के सारे देश के अंदर एकता और अखंडता कायम करने के लिए हमारी वर्तमान सरकार, माननीय विश्व नाथ प्रताप सिंह जी, जो हमारे नेता हैं, उनके नेतृत्व में प्रयास करेगी । लेकिन इसमें जम्मू और कश्मीर सरकार का भी सहयोग होना चाहिए । जम्मू और कश्मीर की सरकार जिस तरह से चल रही है, जिस तरह से वहां ढिलाई से काम हो रहा है, जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान की सीमा से उग्रवादियों और दूसरे षडयंत्रकारियों का इस देश के अंदर प्रवेश हो रहा है, यह निहायत ही चिंता का विषय है ।

वहां की सरकार को चाहिए कि इस पर नियंत्रण करे, रोक लगाये और जम्मू और कश्मीर के अंदर शांति व्यवस्था कायम करने के लिए हर प्रयत्न करे, क्योंकि जम्मू और कश्मीर इस देश का अविभाज्य और अखंड हिस्सा है । वहां पर किसी भी तरीके से न तो हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए और न तो देश की एकता और अखंडता में कोई आंच आनी चाहिए ।

हमारी वर्तमान सरकार देश की भयंकर समस्याओं का हल करने के लिए प्रयत्नशील है ।

श्री विश्वबन्धु गुप्ता : यादव जी, यह प्रश्न आपने कहा कि कांग्रेस वाले क्यों पूछ रहे हैं--मगर एक सवाल तो सही है कि अगर किसी और का अपहरण होगा तो क्या किया जाएगा ?

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : वह सवाल तो भंडारे साहब पूछ चुके हैं ।

श्री विश्वबन्धु गुप्ता : आप कह रहे हैं ना कि सवाल गलत है, सो उसका जवाब पूछ रहा हूं ।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : माननीय महोदया, मैं गुप्ता जी के प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं देना चाहता क्योंकि मैं पूर्व में कह चुका हूं कि भारत सरकार और माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने डा० रुबिया की रिहाई के संबंध में कश्मीर सरकार के ऊपर न तो कोई दबाव डाला और न कोई प्रभाव डाला । यह तो कश्मीर सरकार की अपनी मंत्रिमण्डल ने आपातकालीन बैठक में निर्णय लिया था । हमारे गृह मंत्री जी, जिनकी पुत्री का अपहरण हुआ था, वह तो कश्मीर के अंदर गये भी नहीं ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप गलत कह रहे हैं ।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : महोदया, यह उधर विपक्ष में बैठे हुए लोग देश की गम्भीर स्थिति के बारे में, कश्मीर की गम्भीर स्थिति के बारे में विचार करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं । यह लोग हर बात को, हर

समस्या को लाइटली ले रहे हैं और मजाक में इसको लेना चाहते हैं ।

देश की और कश्मीर की स्थिति गंभीर है । इसमें किसी पार्टी की दलगत भावना नहीं रहनी चाहिए । हमको, आपको और पूरे देश को एक साथ बैठकर देश की समस्या के बारे में, देश की शांति व्यवस्था की स्थिति के बारे में, कश्मीर के अंदर बढ़ती हुई अराजकता के बारे में गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए ताकि देश के अंदर जो अव्यवस्था हो रही है और आपके कारण हुई थी, जो आपका इतने लम्बे समय तक शासनकाल था, वह आपके कारण देश के अंदर शांति व्यवस्था की स्थिति खराब हुई थी । इस पर विचार करना चाहिए ।

महोदया, मैं अपनी सरकार को और माननीय गृह मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं कि यह लोग देश की स्थिति को, विशेषकर जम्मू और कश्मीर की स्थिति को, पंजाब के अंदर जो अशांति हुई है, उस स्थिति को, सब लोगों का सहयोग लेकर के निपटना चाहते हैं ।

आज हमारी सरकार इन समस्याओं को भाईचारे की भावना से देश की एकता और अखंडता को रक्षा के लिए हल करना चाहती है । महोदया, मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करते हुए कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री, देश के प्रधान मंत्री और हमारे नेता माननीय विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी ने पंजाब में सुरक्षा नियमों को तोड़ करके जो यात्रा की है, वह वहां गए और वहां के लोगों से मिले, उस से निश्चय ही पंजाब की स्थिति में सुधार आया है । वहां के लोगों की मनोदशा बदली है । ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : आप हमें काला चश्मा लगा कर देखिए । ... (व्यवधान)

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : महोदया, इन लोगों पर मुझे बड़ी तरस आ रही है, जो उधर बैठे हुए हैं । अपने बचपन में मैंने गुलेल से एक बार चिड़िया मार दी थी । जब वह चिड़िया तड़फड़ा रही थी तो मुझको दया आ रही थी । आज वही दया आप लोगों के ऊपर भी आ रही है क्योंकि आप वहां बैठ कर तड़फड़ा रहे हैं । ... (व्यवधान)

उपसभापति : आर्डर प्लीज । ... (व्यवधान) अभी आप खत्म करिए ।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : मैं अंत में, महोदया, सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं, सरकार हमारी प्रयत्नशील है कि आम सहमति से देश की इन गंभीर समस्याओं को निपटाए और शांति-व्यवस्था करें और जम्मू-काश्मीर की सरकार भी अब पुराने दिन भूल करके काश्मीर के अन्दर शांति और व्यवस्था कायम करने के लिए हर संभव प्रयास करे। धन्यवाद ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How, Mr. Bansal.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam Deputy Chairman, the unfortunate incident of kidnapping of Dr. Rubiya occurred at a time when the Janata Dal, inebriated by a half-brewed electoral victory, was proclaiming the dawn of a new environment of fearlessness.

Madam, every citizen heaved a sigh of relief on the release of Dr. Rubiya and we all genuinely shared the anxiety and the emotions of her family, or her friends and her well-wishers all over the country. The agony that they had to undergo during those traumatic days was traumatic for the whole country. But, unfortunately, now an effort is being made by the Central Government and its spokesmen including Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee that all is not well with the State Government there. Madam, I want to assure Mr. Vajpayee that the

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

House is not divided on the question of the unity and the integrity of this country. But since this incident poses many nagging questions, it is imperative for us to discuss those questions dispassionately.

Madam, people, knowing as they do that the release was secured in exchange of five hard-core terrorists with known foreign links, only wonder whether the release could not have been secured by paying a lesser price without compromising with those whose creed is violence and aim secession. Yes, Madam, I have heard people say so. They would not say this if the image of this Government were that of a strong one and not, as it has turned out to be, that of a weak Government. In this situation, the Centre's endeavour to pass off the blame to the State Government is fraught with serious consequences. Madam, the Statement gives us a hint about the Government's game plan, about its plan to destabilise the J & K Government, to promulgate the President's rule there and to ensure indirectly that hon. Home Minister rules the State from Delhi. (*Time bell rings*) Madam, I would only wish to say that such a course would be a disastrous one for the country because today it is only Dr. Farooq Abdullah who has the capacity and the will to fight the secessionist forces there. They have referred to the various incidents during the last two years. I would simply want to take them back by two years. That is the time when Dr. Farooq Abdullah was voted to power. Madam, it was he and the Congress together which inflicted a crushing blow to the M.U.F. and thereby paved the way to ensure that the people of the State are encouraged to fight the secessionist forces.

Madam, paying heed to your warning, I would end only by putting 3 or 4 very pointed questions to the hon. Minister. Firstly, is it so that no F.I.R. was lodged gainst Rr. Rubaiya's abduction? Secondly, I would like to know whether she was blindfolded or not by the kidnappers during her journey to the place of her confinement. Where was the place of confinement? Was she quite close to her house: How was she obstructed from raising an alarm? What was the debriefing that was given to her as we learn from the newspapers? I would also like to know whether the first contact with the kidnappers was established through an important daily of J & K and an agreement was almost arrived at for the release of one terrorist in exchange for the release of Dr. Rubaiya. At what stage, was Justice Bhatt brought in the talks and what development necessitated that? Madam, the Statement is completely silent on this point and I must take this opportunity to express my disappointment over the disturbing trend that has emerged at the instance of the Central Government in involving and seeking assistance from the High Court Judges in arriving at talks with the anti-national forces. This would inflict a very very severe blow to our polity, I want to caution the Central Government here.

Madam, I know that the hon. Home Minister as such did not go to J &K. But I would like to know from him that during those traumatic days who were the Ministers from the Centre who daily visited the Home Ministry when it opened in the morning and conducted or monitored the things from there. Is it a fact that two other Central Ministers flew into J & K? There were members from the National Security Guard also. Was a monitoring cell set up in which the greater role was being played by Centre? (*Time bell rings*)

Madam, finally I would like to have an assurance from the hon. Minister

that this incident would not be used as a play to take action against the State Government. I want an assurance from the hon. Minister that the Central Government is not planning to destabilise the State Government and impose President's rule there. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Gurudas Das Gupta. Only questions, please.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): I know that. But it takes time to frame a question. Everybody else has been given ten minutes. Madam, there are two aspects to the problem. One aspect is the sharply deteriorating condition in Kashmir. Another aspect is the release of Dr. Rubaiya, a young lady, who happens to be the daughter of the Home Minister of the Government of India. Therefore, These Two aspects have to be discussed separately, and the questions are to be framed in that way.

Madam, let me make it very clear that the problem of Kashmir cannot be considered to be a problem of bilateral discussion with Pakistan. The problem of Azad Kashmir could be a matter of discussion between the two countries, but the matter of internal situation in Kashmir cannot be discussed with Mrs. Benazir Bhutto. If we would like to discuss Kashmir with Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, then Mrs. Bhutto may like to discuss the problem of Sind with the Government of India.

If the situation becomes like that, that will be a little embarrassing, not only embrassing, we will also be compromising our right as a sovereign nation. Therefore, it is an internal problem of Government of India and the people of this country. In my opinion, Madam the problem of Kashmir is a problem of Muslim fundamentalism, in the same was as the problem of Sikh fundamentalism in Punjab and the problem of Hindu fundamentalism in other parts of the country. Therefore, it should be made a part of our broad national strategy of fighting the fundamentalism in this or that form, whether it is in Kashmir or it is in Punjab or it is in U.P. It has to be viewed from that angle. And it is true that the problem of Muslim fundamentalism in Kashmir has suddenly accentuated because of certain wrong and thoroughly dangerous steps that the previous Government had adopted. It goes without saying that the dismissal or Dr. Farooq Abdullah Government had given handle to the fundamentalism in Kashmir. As a result the mass base of National Conference had really shrunken and it was left to these Muslim fundamentalists to pose themselves as the singular spokesmen of the so-called national interest ' of the people of Kashmir. Therefore, this short-sighted brinkmanship of the previous Government had only added to the already accumulated problem of fundamentalism in Kashmir. Secondly, Madam, the wrong political decision that Dr. Farooq Abdullah had taken to have a Government of joint entrepreneurship with Congress in Kashmir has also added fuel to the fire. Therefore, if we have to castigate anybody for the present development in Kashmir, it is the wrong policy of the previous Government which has helped fundamentalism to work there. And, Madam, this is not the only instance. The last Government, the previous Government had acted in the same wrong political way in Punjab also. The dismissal of the Akali Government there did not help the middle forces there. It only helped to consolidate the extremist forces in Punjab also. Therefore, if we have to discuss the problem of Kashmir, we have to squarely say that it is the previous Government which is squarely responsible, and it is the wrong political decision of Farooq Abdullah to enter into partnership with Congress that has helped the fundamentalism to consolidate

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there. In such a background, Madam, therefore, the situation has developed. And I shall sound a note of warning. I do not believe that the Jammu and Kashmir Government should be dislodged or it should have been dislodged. I only believe that it should be made a part and parcel of our political struggle for national integration, against fundamentalism, and for the maintenance of the national integrity of the country. In the broad framework, the problem of Kashmir is definitely a special problem. And, Madam, in today's morning newspaper, I am really perplexed to read the statement of a political leader who says that Babar was an invader and Ram was a national hero. I do not grudge calling Ram a national hero. Of course, he may be. He is a mythological hero at least. I do not know if he is a national hero. But to call Babar an invader gives a handle to Muslim fundamentalists in the country and that helps Hindu fundamentalists to consolidate. If you call Babar an invader, why the Aryans are not? It is only that Babar had invaded the country a little later than the Aryans. Therefore, this way of political shortsightedness, if that is the way we should call the statement, this short sighted political wisdom of the political leaders will give a further handle not only to the Babri Masjid problem, but it will give a further handle to the Muslim fundamentalists in Kashmir also.

Madam, therefore, going again to the crux of the problem, I should say that the release of Rubaiya was not the first instance. Why is it that the son of a leading police officer was released in Punjab in exchange of a number of terrorists? Therefore, if the Government led by V. P. Singh has committed a crime by giving in, then the crime was committed much earlier by the Governor of Punjab under the advice of the Central Government . . . (*Interruptions*). Both are crimes. Then, Madam Chairperson, you are confronted with a big perplexing question for which I do not get the answer. Frankly speaking as a Member of the House I do not get the answer because if you tell me, as a father I have a daughter, if my daughter was kidnapped in the same way, my feelings would have been that I should get the release of my daughter in exchange for anybody, even for my own life. Therefore, the same might have been the feelings of the Home Minister. But I am not the Home Minister. But since he is the Home Minister and since his daughter has been released, therefore such an incident is bound to become an example. Because, will you do the same thing to secure the release of the MLA in Andhra Pradesh? Will the Government's advice be in the same way to the Government of Andhra Pradesh? Let us not take a formalistic stand that what was done there was done by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. No. Nobody shall believe like that. (*Time bell rings*). The Government of Kashmir had definitely acted on its own. But what was the advice? What was the advice? The advice must have been to get the release. Therefore, let us not take a formal position or a formalistic position. The point is that terrorism in the country is on the rise. If we pay such a heavy price will it not give an inducement or at least morale booster to the terrorists to commit this type of crime in any part of the country? That is my question as a political being, not as a father. As a father I will be ready to get the release of my daughter in the way I like. But to me the question is perplexing because if it is viewed in the broad national framework, then it really endangers, endangers because the criminals will do the same thing in future. Supposing a criminal kidnapped somebody very important in the political life and said that his friend, who is an under-trial prisoner must be released, otherwise the hostage is going to be butchered, then

that is going to give hell to the law and order situation of the State and the country. Therefore, I do not accuse the Minister because as a father I cannot. But as a political being, of course, I pose the question, to what extent the Government can go and if the going of the Government is by itself compromising the position, the law and order position, the situation should be viewed in this way. I am putting it very frankly. This is a puzzling question to me. I do not know the answer. What I will say definitely is that the Minister himself should have taken a little more care of his daughter after he assumed the responsibility as Home Minister; a little more care should have been taken. This is no argument that Islam does not permit a woman to be made a captive. Do you think that these people believe in Islam? Do you believe insurgency is a part of Islamic civilisation or religion? He should have been a little more careful and his carelessness definitely has contributed to the situation. He should have been a little more careful and, in the same way, other people should be. But I come to the crux of the question. If we do surrender the terrorism in the same way we have been compelled to do in this case—it was being done by the Congress Government, not by this Government; it was done in Punjab by the Congress Government, to get the release of the son of a police officer there; I can quote many more instances where your Government had submitted to terrorism; this is a single example in the case of this Government—to what exent we can go? To what extent we can give priority to human feelings? To what extent we can give priority to the feelings of a father, to the feelings of a guardian and to what extent you can compromise your responsibilities as a political leader, as a statesman, as a Minister? This is the question.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, please put your questions. Otherwise, I will have to call the next speaker.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am coming to it, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is a Calling-Attention and not a discussion.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Therefore, the problem has to be viewed in this background. What I ask this Government is, what steps the Government is going to take so that such incidents do not occur in any part of the country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Raoof Valiullah. Please ask only questions. I will conclude the debate before 2.30 p.m. for reply.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: Thank you, Madam. About twelve days ago, when Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed was released, the Prime Minister hinted that an action programme—most probably, a package deal—to defuse the situation, to defuse the current turmoil, in Jammu and Kashmir, would be announced. He also said in a Press interview that a sub-committee on Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir has been formed and that it would come out with an action plan in a few days. I expected that the statement of the Home Minister in this House today would spell out the action plan and what the Government is going to do to deal with the growing menace of terrorism and extremism in the country. Madam, I fail to understand why the Government has not spelt out, in detail, the long and short-term measures to tackle extremism in the country which the hon. Prime Minister spoke about publicly and in an interview.

My second point is, while everybody welcomes the release of Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed it is essential that immediate steps should be taken to tackle the problem of extremism, not only in Jammu and Kashmir, not only in Punab, but elsewhere in the country also. Madam, some political parties have demanded the imposition of President's Rule in the State of

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Jammu and Kashmir. But I want to tell the Government that this is no answer. The present Government of Dr. Farooq Abdulla is the only nationalist and secular force in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and by dismissing the Government, by overthrowing the Government, there, I do not think the problem of extremism can be solved by the Union Government. I would, therefore, add a word of caution that this Government, while drawing up the action plan, must also think about this point.

Thirdly, while all political parties, including that of Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, are seized of the issue, to work out a common approach to solve this problem of abduction, extremism and militancy, I would like to know from the Government, what action has been taken to tell the extremists that this would not pay. Is the Government serious about it?

Madam, I would, therefore, like to plead that there is an urgent need for appropriate political initiatives in this matter, to deal with extremism in the wake of Dr. Sayeed's abduction and such other abductions taking place all over the country. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether the Government is considering to have a national policy and whether they are prepared to debate this matter.

My last point is, insurgency is taking its toll. Only in this country, we are not taking it seriously. Therefore, we have to treat extremists as prisoners for getting back helpless, hapless, hostages. I would like to know whether in evolving a national policy they will be serious enough to let our message be known to these extremists that we will not let ourselves give in to this kind of tactics, and what appropriate measures are being taken by the Government. The matter which has been raised in this House is very serious. But unfortunately the statement gives only the history, how thing had happened in the past, it is not clear as to what the Government wishes to do in future and how such acts will be tackled with all seriousness. What is the plan of action envisaged by the Government, particularly in relation to Jammu and Kashmir? The Prime Minister has promissed that he will come out with it within two or three days. While framing the national policy, is he going to take all of us into confidence as to how the Government will tackle such situations in future? Thirdly, I would like to know whether the Government on its own will come out with such solutions that will check extremism in this country.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I am really upset after listening to the opposition benches. This should not have been the angle from which the issue should have been understood. We know how Kashmir, how Kashmiri people asserted themselves to join the Indian Union. It was anti-Hari Singh movement. I do not know whether Hari Singh was the king but anti-feudal movement in Kashmir gave the National Conference a place of pride in the national movement. That is why in Kashmir on the initiative of the most patriotic, nationalist elements we are able to see that in spite of the creation of India and Pakistan, Kashmir stayed back in India, decided itself to be in India, and in spite of the three wars also Kashmir has remained the bastion of strength of India. In this sense the whole issue has to be understood. If it is not understood in that sense, we are likely to lose a lot because already Pakistan is raising the issue of Kashmir and plebiscite in every international conference. Pakistan is having a running war on the question of Siachin Glacier. Pakistan is sending agents and armed militants, using occupied Kashmir as a spring board and thoes people are trying to create disturbance. Is this understood in the proper sense? The problem is being looked quite from a different angle. Some five terrorists have been

released. Let there be 100 terrorists, I do not bother, but what is the method of tackling this terrorism? Has this question been understood by these opposition benches? What is the method in which we can arouse national sentiments? By winning the hearts of the people, building up a national consensus and going ahead. And you say that the present Government is a weak government because you think that you have been overthrown and naturally you want to come back to this side. So you say that this is a weak government. But I would like to tell you that this is one of the strongest governments and the strength of this Government is.... 2.00 P.M.

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI: What a joke!

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: That is all right, you may understand like that. But it is the popular movement which has brought this Government into power and you try to decry that.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): What happened in Andhra Pradesh?

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: Because a nationalist Muslim is occupying the Home Minister's post, you thought that that has created the problem, that has shown the weakness of this Government, or something like that. You are trying to beat about the bush. I tell you that the strength of this Government is that it has got a nationalist Muslim as the Home Minister, as a nationalist Muslim was there to lead India's negotiations with Great Britain. He played the greatest role.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: Had you been so concrned about the Muslims, you would not have been ousted in Andhra Pradesh.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: That is what is your thinking. You do not know what was done in Andhra Pradesh for safeguarding the minority communities. That is what you think. You have absolutely no idea about that.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): I have a point of order. I object to that use of the word "nationalist". All Muslims are nationalists unless proved otherwise. The term had an unfortunate connotation in the past. So please have that removed from the record.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: What I am trying to say is that nationalism has got a pride of place. I am not trying to add any adjective to it. Nationalism, whether of me, him or somebody else has got a pride of place.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: Of everybody in this House.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: That is quite true.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: Including you.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: Yes, everybody. Why do you try to draw some other inference? Why do you want to give it a different connotation?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You address me, not the Members.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: The fact that he never called you a nationalist does not mean that you are not a nationalist.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not need anybody's certificate to be a nationalist.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: I wanted to know that a lot of things have come out in the press about RAW, the nefarious activities that RAW was conducting during the previous regime and its role in the Bodo agitation and so many other things. So also was the case with CBI and other intelligence agencies. Their working was detrimental to the interests of the nation. That is why they were not able to provide any

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intelligence about what was happening in Jammu and Kashmir. Will the hon. Minister go through the working of these intelligence agencies and try to see that the entire intelligence system is put on the correct footing so that it will serve the people's interests.

Also, there should be a kind of cooperation between the people of our country to see that a communal divide does not come about either in Kashmir or in Punjab which the enemies of our country are trying to create. Thanks to the patriotism of the people of Kashmir and also that of the people of Punjab, in spite of all these things, there had not been one communal incident. This is what has to be properly taken note of and this should be the beginning from which each one of our actions will yield more and more consensus and more and more understanding of the situation and trying to remove the doubts that may be there in the minds of certain sections of our people, the misguided elements. At the same time, a kind of solution has to be found to both the Punjab and Kashmir problem.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: He has not asked any clarification.

DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY: I have asked about intelligence agencies.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is up to him to ask or not to ask. It is entirely his prerogative to do what he likes. Shri G. R. Matto. Please be brief.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Madam Deputy Chairman, while speaking on Kashmir today, I want to say that I have heard with rapt attention the speeches made by various speakers since this morning. I am emboldened to say that the spirit of India is alive and every section of the House, whether they belong to this side of the Opposition or to the Government side, have, with one voice, stated that they are with the people of Kashmir. This is the spirit that is needed to heal the wounds inflicted on Kashmir.

I am very grateful, in particular, to Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee. He has today been in a mood which really gives a healing touch to the otherwise gloomy situation obtaining there. But I would only like to tell him that while what he has spoken in the House today, to my mind, was very moderate, what his leaders spoke in Simla yesterday and which came out in today's newspapers, was different. There are two points about which the BJP is very vociferous these days. The first point is the dismissal of the Farooq Abdullah Government and the second point is with regard to article 370. I am happy that Mr. Vajpayee has not spoken about it, but it appeared in today's newspapers that Shri Advani has stated that the Farooq Abdullah Government should be dismissed. I would not like to go, at this point, into the causes of the Kashmir situation—how it developed, how the situation that exists there now has developed—but I would definitely want to tell Shri Vajpayee that the young people of Kashmir do ask us—as I have stated in the last session of Parliament also—if the party which wants to finish the special status of Kashmir, because we are a Muslim majority State, how can we go to that country? I would only tell the honourable Home Minister that though his assertion with regard to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir has been spelt out in his statement, he has not made any mention about the present Government's stand on article 370. I want that a message should go from the ruling party here to the people of Kashmir as to where they stand with regard to article 370. I may warn this House and tell this House that by no stretch of imagination will the people of

Kashmir, at any point of time, believe or wish that they will allow article 370 to go.

Madam Deputy Chairman, Mr. Murli Bhandare and other friends have raised certain questions with regard to Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed. My association with Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed has been for the last 25 years, and Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed is just like my daughter. I do not want to say anything on that issue, but I would definitely like to know what Mr. Sayeed's reactions are to the questions raised by my friends in the Congress Party. Madam, with regard to dismissal of the J. & K. Government, I want to say only one thing because the time at my disposal is very short. I would say with all emphasis at my command that it is in the interest of National Conference, it is in the interest of Dr. Farooq Abdullah and those associated with him if the Government of Dr. Farooq Abdullah is dismissed today so that we go back to the people and come back with still greater strength. But I may warn you also that if the Government of Dr. Farooq Abdullah is dismissed at this present juncture it will tantamount to giving Kashmir on a platter to the terrorists.

I may tell you, Madam Deputy Chairman, that there were previous occasions when such situations were created. The Congress (I) was there, and the National Conference was there. If the Congress (I) was defeated in the polls, the National Conference came. If the National Conference was conspired to be thrown out, the Congress (I) was there. But the situation at the present moment is that there are no nationalist forces to whom you can entrust this government. I repeat that it is in the interest of Dr. Farooq Abdullah and the National Conference if they are dethroned and their Government is dismissed. But it is not in the national interest. It is giving Jammu and Kashmir on a platter to the terrorists. And I think that the sense of the House is that we are one with the rest of the country and that the rest of the country is with us, with the people of Kashmir in fighting terrorism in whatever manner we can possibly do.

Madam, I have only one thing to say that the hon. Home Minister in his statement stated that they are going to extend all assistance to the J & K Government. But I may also say that I find in the second and the third line of his statement an ominous sign which I hope is not really so. I am quoting:

> "Immediately after the last Assembly elections, the situation started deteriorating..."

I feel in this there are certain signs. These two lines are against the perceptions as propounded by the Government, the professions that the Farooq Abdullah Government will be helped in all manner. I would like the hon. Minister to reassure us about what he means by this statement and also give the stand of the Government with regard to Article 370.

Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Balanandan. Please ask questions. Now I have three more—you and two more speakers. I should give some time to the Minister to answer.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala): I am not taking much time, Madam. I am taking only a few minutes.

The most serious question of the land has been placed before the House in this Calling Attention. The Home Minister has detailed the situation in the small statement he has made.

Somebody from the other side was talking about strong steps and strong government etc. For the last two years, ,the statement shows that the situation in Kashmir was going from bad to worse. Every Indian was rather concerned about the situation

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developing in Kashmir. Today also the situation in Kashmir is worse than that in Punjab.

This is not a question of parties debating here and taking sides. This is a question of keeping Kashmir with India. We must isolate those forces, separatists and extremists who want Kashmir to go to Pakistan. That fight is on. On this question there must not be two opinions in this House. We must isolate extremism, and we must isolate separatism which wants to take away Kashmir from India. This is the point on which everyone of us unitedly have a common stand.

Every man and every political party has its own solution. Somebody, says, somebody thinks that this weak Government of Farooq Abdullah should not be there and that as it cannot protect the interest of the nation as such, it should be dismissed. Members from the other side, the Congress benches, have expressed concern and they wanted an assurance from the Government that Dr. Farooq Abdullah's Government will not be dismissed etc. Now, the point to be taken into account in this connection is that Dr. Rubiya's case is referred to as one method resorted in sorting out these things. After the whole issue is settled, wiser men can say about so many other alternatives. So, I do not come with any alternative now. The point is that a situation was created in Kashmir wherein the extremists could go to any extent and they thought it easy to see that the daughter of the Home Minister was kidnapped and they wanted a price. Not only in India but internationally also this kind of steps have been resorted to. Even the American Government was faced with such situations. The point is whether the Government of India has exercised their mind fully while agreeing to the proposal. That is a question to be thought over by them.

Now, I am referring to the question of Kashmir as such. This question can be solved by strengthening the nationalist forces, whose strength is the main factor to keep Kashmir with India. For that as Mr. Vajpayee has said a national consensus has to be created. So, a national consensus should be created calling a conference of all parties and to discuss how to deal with the situation. This is not a small problem. No sectional or partisan attitude should be taken in that. Somebody said it can be solved by immediately dismissing Mr. Farooq Abdullah's Government. Somebody says Article 370 should be done away with. I do not agree with all this. But I do agree with Mr. Vajpayee to have a national consensus and a conference should be called by the Government immediately to see how this sparatism as well as extremism in Kashmir is to be fought. Moreover, certain steps are to be taken by the Government of India to deal with the economic condition prevailing in Kashmir. The people of Kashmir are facing serious difficulties on many fronts. Therefore, I would request the Government to see that this problem is solved and immediately an all-party conference is called. Secondly, the Government of India should help Mr. Farooq Abdullah's Government to take some economic steps to ameliorate the conditions of the Kashmiri people.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I have got five questions which I will put in brief.

First. I would like to know from the Minister why he did not go to Srinagar at all during this period of crisis and instead chose to send Mr. Arif Mohammad Khan and Mr. Gujral, the Energy Minister and the Foreign Minister, respectively. Secondly, is it a fact that the location where his daughter was kept was known and that hapened to be a Masjid in Srinagar and both the National Security Guards and the Commander-

in-Chief of the Indian Army had drawn up a plan called "Operation Bijli" to be able to storm in and rescue his daughter without any casualties? Thirdly, is it a fact that the State Government felt that the price for the release was unnecessarily high and that you could secure the release of Dr. Rubiya with a much less price in view of the embarrassment the terrorists had found themselves in having kidnapped a girl which had brought about a condemnation from even Islamic countries? Fourth question is: why is it that Dr. Rubiya has made no statement on what happened? Normally, in other countries when a person kidnapped by terrorists is released, you get a statement on how that person was treated and when he was taken and so on and exactly what were the circumstances. Why she chose to make no statement at all? Finally, the fifth question I want to ask from the Government is, the head of the JKLF is a man called Amanullah and he lives in Islamabad. What are they doing to get him out or get him over here? May I know from the Government what steps they have taken in this regard whatsoever? Thank you.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, to begin with I am a bit perplexed over the exact formulation of the subject-matter of the calling attention motion. Is the Kashmir situation completely encompassed just by the kidnapping and release of Dr. Rubiya Sayeed? If not, if there are other factors, why the formulation has been made that way? But we may let it go. Earlier there was some remonstrance about the term "nationalist Muslim". As one living and a bit active in the national movement. I can say this particular term at that time had been very much in vogue and on other side the Qaid-e-Azam of Muslim League had some very tough epithets for them but still the term in itself should not be an anathema. These are not contradictions in terms. It goes without saying. I think, bringing in the factor of unemployment was not too relevant in the context of what has been happening in Kashmir because unemployment, as Mr. Vajpayee has pointed out, is a national phenomenon and the fight against it has nothing to do with corruption. In fact, all of us are trying to fight it out.

So far as kidnapping of Dr. Rubiya Sayeed is concerned, the issue has been raised in diverse forms. Well, I do not know whether it has been raised in the direct form. I was very much surprised to find a statement from the outgoing Prime Minister of the country, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, in his parliamentary party meeting. The statement was that Dr. Farooq Abdullah told him that it was under the pressure of the Government of India, against the wishes of the State Government that they had to barter the release of Dr. Rubiya Sayeed with the five detained terrorists. Now, as it is, this statement seems to be in very bad taste but on the other hand many improprieties were involved, whether Dr. Farooq Abdullah was supposed to divulge or should have divulged discussions that he had with the representatives of Central Government, including the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and had a very prolonged meeting at that. If I remember correctly, his first meeting with the Home Minister lasted four hours. They might have been old friends, colleagues and comrades. But the meeting took place between the Chief Minister of a State and the Home Minister of the country. If the confidences exchanged during the meeting had been divulged, was it a proper act? Nobody would suggest. It is far from us to suggest imposition of President's Rule in Kashmir. We have always been against the supersession of an elected Government. It is better to let them hang themselves if they go that way. But by no means, we said to supersede them. But I would like the Home Minister to

[Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee]

clarify this aspect. Here it is given. On the 8th of December, there was a meeting of the Kashmir Cabinet obviously without the presence of the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, who was perhaps even on that day in London. They took a decision. By implication, it controverts the statement made by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Would the hon. Minister clarify the exact position in this regard? It came out in the press and from the side of the Government of India, there was no comment whatsoever. It was unfortunate. The Government of India, on such matters should be more forthcoming. As in the case of Bofors, whatever was disclosed by the Prime Minister today might have been disclosed earlier also and might have created better impression. So that way, I would like the Home Minister to clarify these aspects and together with it, whether he proposes to hold any all-party meeting on this issue just to exchange views and decide further course of action. But I would at the same time expect that already the Government of India has ensured that some appropriate measures would be taken to deal with the terrorist menace that is obtaining in Kashmir. It is not under control as stated here since 19th December. Even day before yesterday, there were eruptions. Yesterday, there was eruption. Therefore, there is no scope for complacency. I would like to know whether steps are being taken in these matters to curb and contain, if not completely do away with, terrorism. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister please.

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI: Madam, before the Home Minister speaks, I would like to ask just two pointed questions.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the Home Minister yields.

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI: I would only like to ask the Home Minister that the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir has said that only Chief Secretary of the Kashmir Government is for negotiations with the extremists. But at the same time, I have learnt from the newspapers that names of Justice Bhatt, Dr. Guru, the Cardiologists, Mr. Abdul Quyam, an advocate and Mr. Mir. Mustafa, an MLA, were involved in the negotiations. I would like to know what is the position. My second point is that extremists were released but who allowed them to leave Kashmir and go to the occupied Kashmir area? Was there no vigilance on them or are they still in Kashmir?

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am grateful to the hon. Members of this august House for dwelling at length on the different aspects of the prevailing situation in the Kashmir valley. I share the Members' concern over the recent developments in the Kashmir valley. The present Government is fully conscious of the magnitude of the problems. To refresh the memory of the Members, let me give you some tell-tale figures. I know figures can be boring but in this case, they are very relevant. In 1988, when militancy raised its head in the valley, there were 351 violent incidents. Of these, bomb explosions accounted for 17, armed attack, 7, attack on police, 126 explosions involving policemen—4; armed attacks against police—5; and the number of people killed—17. Take a look at the figures up to December 7, this year. The number of violent incidents rose from 351 of 1988 to 1600, explosions from 17 to 386, armed attacks from 7 to 102, attacks against police from 135 to 366 and attacks on Central and State Government establishments from none in 1988 to 172 up to December 7, this year. The number of killings rose from 17 to 49.

It is this state of lawlessness that is required to be tackled. And it was not even days before the new Government had taken over that Dr. Rubiya Sayeed was kidnapped. Rubiya may be my daughter. To that extent, she is the daughter of the nation, of any one of you, gentlemen and ladies sitting across the floor. I would have sacrificed a hundred Rubiyas if I had believed that it would bring us any nearer to a solution to the problem. We are not exactly strangers to terrorists' acts. Kidnapping is part of the game they play. They have done it in the past in many parts of the world and they will continue to do so. The release by the State Government of five militants in exchange for Rubiya has been termed by some as surrender. It has been said that the Government indulged in arm-twisting forcing the State Government to yield to the demands of the militants. It has been said that two of my colleagues were sent to Srinagar to twist the arm harder. Yes, my colleagues Mr. I. K. Gujral and Mr. Arif Mohd. Khan did indeed go to Srinagar. But that was on the morning of the day Rubiya was released. The State authorities had, by then, finalised the details of the release. The incident of Dr. Rubiya's kidnapping and the demands put forth by the militants were discussed in an emergency meeting of the State Cabinet held at Jammu on the 8th December evening. The State Cabinet decided in that meeting that all possible steps should be taken by the State Government for the safe release of the hostage. The modality for securing the release of the hostage in exchange of five militant was finally worked out and put through by the State Government to its Chief Secretary and Dr. Rubiya was released on 13th December. The Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir who had been abroad for treatment on returning to Srinagar on 10th December, took stock of the situation and closely monitored the pace of negotiations for securing the release of Dr. Rubiya.

Hon. Members, let us understand that we have a serious problem on our hands. The militants' strength, armed by Pakistan, has established their base in the Valley. Lack of proper and adequate response by the erstwhile Central and the present State Governments has allowed them to gain the sympathy of some ordinary citizens. They harbour them. You would have noticed that there was rejoicing in certains parts of Delhi the day the five militants were released. No tears were shed for the kidnapper girl. This by a people known for their grace, for their respect for humanity. So, what we have to is to restore popular faith in the institution of democracy and democratic functioning. Alongside this we have to strictly enforce the rule of law. The gunmen will have to be weeded out and the process, let me assure you, is on. The suspected hide-outs of the militants are being combed. We have promised all support to the State Government... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Will the honourable Minister Kindly yeild for a minute?

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED:...we have to assure the common people of the State that a fair and just Government is possible, that the law of the land...

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Will the honourable Minister just yield for a minute?

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: (Uttar Pradesh): He is not yielding.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): He has not finished yet.

SHRI RAOOF VALULLAH: Is he replying to our points or is he reading out another statement?

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (Karnataka): Let that statement be laid on the Table of the House and we will read it. Not a single question has been answered.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: Are we supposed to ask questions and get replies or only listen to statements?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has not finished. Let him finish. If your questions are not being answered, then you can raise them. But let him at least finish it.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: When specific questions are asked, he should give specific answers.

SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA: The statement can be circulated.

SHRI BHUVNESH CHATURVEDI: Shall we be allowed to ask questions again?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: ... that the law of the land will prevail. I must also inform you that while we are fully aware of Pakistan's involvement in arming and training militants, not every Kashmiri is sympathetic to the militants. (*Interruption*) To equate pro-Islamism with pro-Pakistanism would be a folly. Criminal disturbances in other parts of the country, say, in Bihar or Uttar Pradesh cause a sense of hurt among Muslims all over the country. It may be a genuine grievance of theirs that the country's secular character does not always... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: The Minister should reply to our questions.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish. Then he will answer. If he does not answer your questions then you can raise them.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: In conclusion let me sound a note of caution. Whether it is Kashmir or Punjab, it is the minds and the hearts of the people that we have to win over. Yes, we shall do our best to win the people to our side and wherever necessary, we will go to the people and tell them, they have not to fear from the State, that the State is meant for their welfare, that the Government is there to tend to their hurt and to give them that little bit of place in the sun which has been denied to them thus far. If we succeed in that, a thousand militants dare not disturb the brotherhood in the country, a thousand Pakistani-based militants-cum-liberators dare not.. (*Interruption*) They will not find a single sympathetic voice.. (*Interruption*)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : स्टेटमैंट की प्रतिलिपि दे दी जाए, अगर ऐसे ही पढ़कर सुनाना है तो । ... (**व्यवधान**)

उपसभापति : जवाब दे रहे हैं, थोड़ा धीरज रखिए ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : टेबल पर रख दो, हम पढ़ लेंगे । ..... (**व्यवधान**)

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: He has not given any answers to our questions.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has not sat down. He is still on his legs. He is going to speak something more. Why don't you allow him?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : डिप्टी चेयरमैन महोदया, काश्मीर की समस्या जो है, वह बड़ी गंभीर समस्या है । आनरेबल मेंबर्स को मालूम है कि काश्मीर

हमेशा बैनल अकवामी साजिशों का मरकीज रहा है और जो आजकल की सिचुएशन है, आजकल की स्थिति है वह हमें वरसे में मिली है । जैसा कि मैंने कह दिया है कि पिछले दो साल से काश्मीर में सिचुएशन को जैसे खराब होने दिया गया है । वहां ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन नाम की कोई चीज नहीं, वहां देशद्रोही ताकतें पिछले दो साल हुकूमत चला रही हैं, वहां आजादी के दिन पर जब हमारे देश की आजादी का दिन है, उस दिन ब्लैट डे मनाया जा रहा है । जब हमारी आजादी का रिपब्लिक डे है तो उस वक्त सारे काश्मीर में हड़ताल हो रही है और जब हमारी सेना 27 अक्तूबर को 1947 में काश्मीर के लोगों की अपील पर वहां गई, उस दिन हमारी फौज के खिलाफ दिन मनाया जा रहा है । यहां इस हालत की जिम्मेदारी किसके ऊपर है? कौन इन हालात के लिए जिम्मेवार है? मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो यहां कांग्रेस की सरकार थी; राजीव गांधी की कयादत में उन्होंने काश्मीर मे ऐसे हालात पैदा करने चाहे जैसे पंजाब के हालात थे ... (**व्यवधान**) You cannot do that; you have to listen to me... (*Interruptions*)...

आप लोग इसके लिए जिम्मेवार हैं । पंजाब में, काश्मीर में जो गुरबत आज है उसके जिम्मेदार हैं । कौन जिम्मेदार है देश को कमजोर करने के लिए, कौन जिम्मेदार है देश की एकता को कमजोर करने के लिए ?

It is you, you, who are responsible for this.

आप लोग जिम्मेदार हैं, यह मैं बताना चाहता हूं । आप लोगों ने काश्मीर के लोगों को मेनस्ट्रीम से अलग किया । आप मेरा मुंह बंद नहीं कर सकते । मुझे बोलने दीजिए । आप इतना बोले तो हमने सुना...

you are the people responsible for this.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : जो सवाल पूछे गए उनका जवाब दीजिए... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री कमलेन्दु भट्टाचार्य (असम) : आजादी का रिपब्लिक डे क्या होता है, यह मैं जानना चाहता हूं...

श्री रऊफ वलीउल्लाह : हमने जो पूछा है उसका जवाब दीजिए ... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : वह भी बता दूंगा । जो मेरे पास जवाब है वह मैं बता रहा हूं ...

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): Madam, I am on a point of order...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. I won't allow when the Minister is on his legs. There is no point of order... (*Interruptions*)... Let him finish his speech. I am not allowing any point of order... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: You have to allow the point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not know Bengali. But I can tell you in English or Hindi that I am not allowing any point of order when the Minister is on his legs... (*Interruptions*) While the Minister is on his legs, I am not allowing anybody.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: It is the statement of the Home Minister and he has to substantiate it.

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि जो हालात जम्मू काश्मीर में पैदा हुये हैं (**व्यवधान**) जिन हालात की वजह से वहां के लोगों में यह बात पैदा हुई है ... (**व्यवधान**) तो इसके लिए पिछली कांग्रेस सरकार और वहां की कोइलियेशन सरकार जिम्मेदार है ... (**व्यवधान**) ।

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): In fairness, you should allow him to reply. You can ask for clarifications

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

after he finishes. You are not fair to him.

(*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request you to please sit down. Let him finish. Then you can ask questions. Not like this.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: These are very serious charges. We will not allow him.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Who are you to allow or disallow? It is the Chair.

(*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the Home Minister has made any charges, I am sure he will be having some facts and he will substantiate them.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I appeal to you not to adopt obstructionist tactics. You listen to him. If you have any doubts, you can seek clarifications later.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Many a time in the past, the erstwhile Prime Minister and the Ministers, while replying, had referred to what had happened in 1977 or 1979. Here the Union Home Minister, while replying, has referred to what had happened earlier.

(*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have not allowed anyone. All of you get up. Everyone except the Home Minister gets up. Please sit down. I will request the Home Minister to give answers to the questions which have been raised from both the sides. After that, we have to go to the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address.

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद: मैं यह यह कह रहा था कि जैसा कि कुछ आनरेबल मैम्बर्स ने यहां कुछ प्रश्न, कुछ सवालात उठाये जैसे कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट पर, वहां के चीफ़ मिनिस्टर पर, वहां की सरकार पर हमारी तरफ़ से दबाव डाला गया, मैं पहले ही कह चुका हूं कि जब यह इंसीडेंस हुआ तो कोई साढ़े चार बजे के करीब उसी दिन शाम को स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की केबिनेट की इमरजेंसी मीटिंग बुलाई गयी जिसमें यह फ़ैसला किया गया कि डा० रुबिया को रिलीज करने के सिलसिले में जो भी कदम जरूरी हो वे उठाए जाएं . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . वहां सिर्फ़ एक ही आदमी को यह अथोरिटी दी गयी कि वह मिलिटेंट के साथ नेगोसिएशन करे वह था चीफ़ एक्जीक्यूटिव जम्मू-कश्मीर । कोई और आदमी नहीं था जो उस मामले को डील करता । और जहां तक दो यूनियन मिनिस्टर्स का सवाल है, श्री आई० के० गुजराल और श्री आरिफ़ मोहम्मद खान, वे 13 दिसम्बर को वहां गये । जब सारी मोडेलिटीज तय हो गई और डा० फ़ारूख अब्दुला के आने के बाद । मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी तरफ़ से, जहां तक मेरा ताल्लुक है, एक जरूरी बात है, जिस बाप की बेटी किडनेप हो जाय उसके दिल पर क्या गुजरती होगी । लेकिन लाख टेलीफोन करने के बावजूद, मैंने कह दिया कि देश का सम्मान बड़ा है, मेरी बेटी कोई बड़ी चीज नहीं है, मैं कुरबानी करने के लिए तैयार हूं । किसी सूरत में भी स्टेट सरकार तक किसी किस्म का दबाव नहीं डाला गया । डा० फ़ारूख अब्दुला गवाह हैं, वहां की स्टेट सरकार गवाह है । उन्होंने पहले ही वह बात कह दी जो बात बाद में कहनी थी । पहले ही दिन शाम को केबिनट की मीटिंग बुलाकर यह कह दिया कि नेगोशिएशन में उनके साथ जाने के लिए तैयार हैं, यह बात मैं साफ कह देना चाहता हूं ।

दूसरी बहुत सारी बातें हैं । मैं श्री मुरली भंडारे जी से कहना चाहता हूं कि काश्मीर इज दी मोस्ट सेंसिटिव पार्ट आफ आवर कंट्री । आपको मालूम है कि कितने हाथ वहां पर हैं । अगर

आप वहां की अन्दरूनी सिस्टम की जानकारी जानना चाहें तो मैं नहीं समझता कि यह मुनासिब होगा । वहां पर हमारी एजेन्सीज क्या हैं, स्टट ने क्या किया है, अगर आप वह सारा भांडा हाउस के सामने रखने को कहें तो यह मुनासिब नहीं है । इस सवाल का मैं जवाब नहीं देना चाहूंगा । मेरी बेटी कहां थी, हमारी इंटेलिजेन्स को क्या मालूम हुआ, वहां की स्टेट सरकार की जो इंटलिजेन्स है उसका क्या काम था, काश्मीर की वादी में जो इतनी इंटेलिजेन्स एजेंसियां काम करती हैं, उनके पास क्या पता था, मुझे लगता है और मैं यह जरूरी नहीं समझता कि मैं ये बातें कहूं । हमारी जो स्ट्रेटेजिक और सेंसिटिव बातें हैं, वे हाउस के सामने नहीं रखनी चाहिए । लेकिन एक बात जरूर है... (व्यवधान) । आप बात तो सुनिये, जैसा कि यहां पर श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी का सजेशन आया, हमारी कोशिश रही, काश्मीर को अगर साथ रखना है और हम काश्मीर को साथ रखेंगे एट अनी कास्ट । काश्मीर के लिए हमने तीन जंगें लड़ी हैं, हमारे जवानों ने अपना खून दिया है । मैं यह कहना चाहता हु कि हमारा पार्टीशन एटीट्यूट नहीं रहा । अगर हम वहां इंटरवीन करना चाहें तो वहां पर ऐसी हालात हैं कि उनको मौका मिल जाएगा हमारे साथ दू-बदू करने का और फिर मैं यह भी समझता हुं कि कोई पार्टी जिसकी रवायात बुलन्द हैं, जिसकी ट्रेडीशन बड़ी हैं तो वे नेशनल कांफ्रेंस और कांग्रेस पार्टी वहां मौजूद हैं जिनकी बुनियाद मजबूत है, उनको डिमोरेलाइज किया गया, उन्होंने बहुत ज्यादा खतरनाक हालात का मुकाबला किया है । 1965 में हमारे ऊपर हमला हुआ, इंफिल-ट्रेटर काश्मीर में भेजे गये । उस वक्त कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्ता थे जिन्होंने अपनी जान और सर हथेली पर रखकर आगे आगे चले और निशाना बताया कि कहां जाना है । जो सियासी एजेंसीज हैं, चाहे वह नेशनल कांफ्रेंस के कार्यकर्त्ता हों, चाहे कांग्रेस के कार्यकर्त्ता हों और चाहे कोई और देशभक्त लोग हों, उनको खौफ़ है कि वहां पर ला एण्ड आर्डर की जो अथोरिटी होती है वह नजर नहीं आती । इसलिए हमने चीफ मिनिस्टर डा० फारूख अब्दुला को बुलाकर कह दिया कि यह आपका काम है कि काश्मीर की जो स्थिति है, काश्मीर में जो हालात हैं उनको सम्भाला है । पहले वहां रेस्टोरेशन आफ़ अथोरिटी आफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को लाना है । आप मिलिटेन्ट के रिलीज करने की बात करते हैं । काश्मीर के कोने-कोने में उनका आर्डर चलता है, जहां वे चाहें फिरते हैं, बल्कि जिन लोगों को खौफ़ होता है उन्हीं से कहा जाता है कि हमें मदद दीजिये । उनको खुली छूट है । हमने चीफ मिनिस्टर को कह दिया कि हमारी तरफ से काश्मीर को पूरी मदद होगी । पहले काश्मीर में रेस्टोरेशन आफ अथोरिटी आफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन होना चाहिए । मैं इस बात से एग्री नहीं करता कि वहां कुछ आर्थिक समस्यायें हैं । जवानों, तालीम याफ्ता जवानों को रोजगार नहीं मिलता है । कई और समस्यायें हैं । इसमें एक सिस्टमेटिक तरीके से पाकिस्तान ने पहले भी कोशिश की कश्मीर में घुसपैठ करने की । लेकिन उनको अंदर जरखेज जमीन नहीं मिली, फर्टाइल ग्राउंड नहीं मिला अगर बाहर से कोई मकान पर तोली जलाता है लेकिन अगर अंदर कोई जलने वाली चीज नहीं है तो वह नहीं जल सकता है । अंदर का माहोल बना है, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है । एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मेजर्स के साथ साथ वहां के पोलिटिकल आर्गनाइजेशंस बिल्कुल मफ्लूज हो चुके हैं । नेशनल कांफ्रेंस और कांग्रेस के वरकर्स ने हमेशा देश की एकता के लिये लड़ाई लड़ी है, देश की अखंडता के लिये लड़ाई लड़ी है । दोनों ताकतव और प्रो इंडियन फोर्सेज को एक्टिवाइज होना । कदम उठाये गये हैं वहां एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव ढंग से, लेकिन जब तक वहां पोलिटिकल सपोर्ट नहीं होगा तब तक यह मुश्किल है । हमने यह फैसला किया है और जैसा कि अटल बिहारी का सजेशन है पंजाब के बारे में एक कांसेसस इंवाल्व करने के लिये, एक स्ट्रैटजी इंवाल्व करने

[श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद]

के लिए और इससे पंजाब की समस्या को हल करने की कोशिश की गई है। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूं कि इस मौजूदा सरकार के पास कोई रेडीमेड हल है। हमें इसको बहुत गहराई में देखना है। ऐसी गलती नहीं करनी है कि हम कह दें कि यह कुछ दिनों में हल हो जायेगा। किसी के पास अल्लादीन का चिराग इसको हल करने के लिये नहीं है। इन समस्याओं के समाधान का हल जो है इसमें वक्त दरकार है। इस पर अमल होगा, प्रोसेस से होगा। एक्स्ट्रिमिस्ट पंजाब में है। आज भी हम देखते हैं कि वहां पर रोज इस तरह की घटनायें होती हैं। जो भी मरता है, चाहे सिख मरता है, चाहे हिन्दू मरता है, चाहे मुसलमान मरता है, मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तानी का खून है! जब हम पंजाब में अमन की बात करते हैं, पंजाब में नार्मलाइजेशन की बात करते हैं तो हमें यह भी देखना है कि हमारा जो पुलिस फोर्स है वह डिमारलाइज न हो। हमें वहां पर एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट से डील करना है। इसी तरीके से कश्मीर के बारे में जो इनकी तजवीज आल पार्टी कांफ्रेंस की है तजवीज पर हम गौर करेंगे। मैं आनरेबल मेम्बर्स से यह कहना चाहता हूं, मेरा कश्मीर की हालत से वास्ता रहा है। मैंने 30 साल वहां अपनी जिंदगी के बिताये हैं। किसी और प्लेटफार्म पर नहीं, प्रो-इंडियन प्लेटफार्म पर बिताये हैं। एक जमाना था जब कश्मीर में कांग्रेस का एक कारकून तिरंगा झंडा लेकर चला और उसका सीना गोली से छलनी हो गया। हमें यही हालात फिर कश्मीर में पैदा करनी हैं। मैं सारे हाउस के मेम्बरान, तमाम पार्टियों के मेंबरान और खासकर जो पार्टी कांग्रेस की है, जिसके बड़े बुलंद रवायात हैं, हाई ट्रेडीशंस हैं उनसे भी दरख्वास्त करूंगा कि यह जो कश्मीर का मसला है, पंजाब के मसले को मैं इतना नाजुक नहीं समझता, पंजाब में इतनी नाजुक हालात होने के बावजूद कम्युनल हारमोनी का माहोल है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि कश्मीर की समस्या का समाधान ढूंढने के लिए, उसका हल ढूंढने के लिये जहां मैं तमाम पार्टीज से अपील करता हूं, वहां के तमाम कांग्रेस भाइयों से अपील करना चाहता हूं कि इसमें कोई पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है Kashmir is a national issue which we have to tackle.

इसमें आपके सपोर्ट की जरूरत है।

(व्यवधान)

श्री रऊफ वलीउल्लाह : जवाब नहीं आया। ... (व्यवधान) . . .

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Madam, many many pertinent questions were raised and not one of those has been answered.

श्री रऊफ वलीउल्लाह: . . (व्यवधान) लांग टर्म और शार्ट यह बतायें कि क्या प्लान आफ ऐक्शन है। यह बताना बहुत आवश्यक है कि क्या प्लान आफ ऐक्शन है।

3.00 P.M.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Madam, one question which was specifically asked of the Home Minister and to which he did not given any reply is, what was the *locus standi* of the Judge who was involved in the negotiations. It is known throughout the country but the Home Minister has just made a statement that the authorisation was only to the Chief Secretary to negotiate. He has not replied whether or not a judge was involved in the negotiations. One minute, Madam. It was said that nobody except the State Chief Secretary had been authorised to negotiate. Then, what was the *locus standi* of the judge who was involved in the negotiations? He was brought from Allahabad to negotiate. Madam, I would ask the hon. Home Minister to specifically tell us, who brought the judge from Allahabad and who authorised him to negotiate on behalf of Government. How could he be broughtt from Allahabad if he was not authorised by the Central Government? (*Interruptions*) In a Calling-Attention Motion, specific questions must be answered. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister has said that nobody was involved except the Chief Secretary. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Then, how was a judge brought from Allahabad? Who brought the judge from Allahabad, I would like to know. (*Interruptions*) How was a sitting judge of the High Court involved? (*Interruptions*) Do you deny.. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister said that only the Chief Secretary was involved. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: It is a very pertinent question. He has not answered. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Why was a judge brought from the Allahabad High Court to negotiate when he was not even in kashmir? (*Interruptions*)

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : मैंने यह पूछा था कि एफ०आई०आर० लाज हुआ या नहीं हुआ, यदि हुआ तो कब हुआ ? **(व्यवधान)** आपने वायदा किया था कि जवाब देंगे **(व्यवधान)**

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा : जवाब दे चुके हैं। **(व्यवधान)** अभी तो बाब दिया है **(व्यवधान)**

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : एक सवाल का भी जवाब उन्होंने दिया हो तो मैं बैठ जाऊंगा **(व्यवधान)** मैंने यह पूछा है कि एफ०आई०आर० लाज हुआ या नहीं हुआ, बताइये जवाब दिया है या नहीं ? **(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Home Minister has given his reply. Whatever he has answered is before the House. Whatever he wanted to say, he has said. Whatever you wanted to ask, you have asked. I cannot say anything. Let us now take up the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, you told me that I will get my chance. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhandare, the Home Minister is on his legs.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: A question has been asked whether an F.I.R. was lodged. Yes. F. I. R. was lodged in police station Sadar on 8-12-89. The F.I.R. number is 339|89 dated 8-12-89. (*Interruptions*)

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : डा० रुबिया को कहां रखा गया घर से नजदीक रखा गया या दूर रखा गया कि नेपर्ज हिन्दुस्तान में हैं या पाकिस्तान में **(व्यवधान)** क्या ऐसे राइट टू इनफारमेशन लाएंगे कांस्टीटयूशन में ?

श्री भुवनेश चतुर्वेदी : उनको जाने क्यों दिया गया **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH: What about the the doctors? What about the M.L.A.? (*Interruptions*)

क्या यह राइट टू इनफारमेशन है **(व्यवधान)**

SHRI JAGESH DESAI): This is an open Government! (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think, the Home Minister said it. If I have heard him correctly,... (*Interruptions*)

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल : उन दस सवालों का जवाब यह है क्या **(व्यवधान)**

उपसभापति : एफ०आई०आर० के बारे में बता दिया है **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : बी०जे०पी० के नेता कह रहे हैं इस मुल्क को **(व्यवधान)** पांच आतंकवादियों **(व्यवधान)**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ahluwalia, please take your seat. As I have heard him, the Home Minister, in his reply, did say 'I cannot say what the intelligence is doing'. He said that he cannot answer due to security reasons. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Madam, on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. (*Interruptions*) Shri Yashwant Sinha. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am on a point of order, Madam. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You write a letter to the Home Minister. He will give a written reply. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Madam Deputy Chairman,...(*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a minute, Mr. Sinha. He is on a point of order. Let me hear what his point of order is.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am actually asking about the procedure of the House. Actually, the Calling Attention has been admitted by the Chair in consultation with the Government. The Government was prepared. And the Calling Attention was to the current situation in Jammu and Kashmir in the context of kidnapping and subsequent release of Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed. The whole matter is surrounding the question of kidnapping and release of Dr. Rubaiya. Now the Home Minister is hiding everything connected with this affair. The Chair also is expressing her inability to ask the Home Minister to give a reply. Madam, the Calling Attention is admitted for a specific purpose and it has the concurrence of the Government also. The discussion is held and at the end of the discussion the Minister comes out and says, I cannot give the information. Is this the procedure of the House? The Government should come out with the information. If it cannot come out with the information, if the Chair also shows her inability, where should we go? I want a ruling on this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: My ruling is that the questions were asked and I asked the Home Minister to answer the questions. Whatever he answered, it is before the House. Whatever he could not answer, he says, he could not answer. (*Interruptions*). Look, Chair cannot ask anybody, I cannot ask anyone to answer any question.

SHRI K. V. THANGKABALU (Tamil Nadu): It is the duty of the Home Minister to answer. He has to answer.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): Madam, I move:

> "That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:—
>
> 'That the Members of the Rajya Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 20th December, 1989'."

Having moved the Motion I would like to say...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the Vice-Chairman is taking the Chair.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai) in the Chair]

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I have immediately recognised the change in the Chair. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to say right in the beginning